universität wien

DISSERTATION / DOCTORAL THESIS

Titel der Dissertation /Title of the Doctoral Thesis

"Building multilingual empathy in language education: An ethnography of a multilingual school in Spain"

verfasst von / submitted by

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angestrebter akademischer Grad / in partial fulfilment of the requirements for the degree of

Doktorin der Philosophie (Dr.phil.)

Wien 2022/ Vienna 2022

Studienkennzahl lt. Studienblatt / degree programme code as it appears on the student record sheet:	UA 792 343
Dissertationsgebiet lt. Studienblatt / field of study as it appears on the student record sheet:	English and American Studies
Betreut von / Supervisor:	Univ.-Prof. Mag. Dr. Julia Hüttner, MSc

Acknowledgements

Doing a PhD is a long journey that can be hard at times and comes with different challenges. At the same time, it is a beautiful process of growth and endurance that can only be possible if you are accompanied with the support and kindness of supervisors, mentors, family and friends.

First of all, I would like to express my gratitude to my supervisor, Professor Julia Huettner. Her support and advice have guided me to the end of this journey. Her continual encouragement and guidance helped me to improve and to remain determined and motivated.

I am also grateful to my team in Vienna and the Eduling Research Group for their feedback and support. It has been a pleasure to work with them. I am truly thankful for the opportunity to be in the department and to learn from my colleagues.

My appreciation goes also to the members of the privatissimum seminar, which generated invaluable discussions. Especial thanks go to Brigitta Busch and Mi-Cha Flubacher, for their warm welcome to the group and her support at a professional and personal level.

Moreover, I would like to mention Magdalena, Eva and Lotti who have been next to me in the hardest lockdown moments. As well as my friends in Vienna that I was lucky enough to meet in this journey and that filled my experience with the nicest memories.

My words of appreciation go also to my previous colleagues in Southampton, where the idea of this thesis initiated. The many discussions, encouragements and precious moments have always been with me after I moved. I would like to thank my friends there and my second family at Cromwell Road. I feel lucky to have met them in my journey.

I would also like to thank my friends at home. They are always there when I go back. Their friendship and unconditional support with this (and other processes) have kept me going.

I am also deeply thankful to Mari, who has been my greatest support in the most difficult stages of the thesis and is leading me to a new journey.

Most importantly, I thank my family: my mum, my dad, my sister and my brother, who have always believed in me and encouraged me to finish. This is for them.

And finally, I owe a very important debt to Carmen and my participants, who always received me with enthusiasm and warmth. Without them, my work would not have been possible.

Abstract

In the last few decades, globalisation processes have changed the way we use and think about language(s) (Martin-Jones, Blackledge & Creese 2012). Transnational/migration flows, technological advances, the spread of English as a global language and the spread of inequality (Kroon, Blommaert, Jie 2013) have had an impact on the present sociolinguistic landscape in schools, as well as on the diversity of individual experiences with multilingualism. In this thesis, I argue that understanding multilingualism in the present starts by exploring the lived experience of individuals with language. This study is an ethnography of multilingual children at a primary school in the Balearic Island in which I followed a cohort of students over a period of two years from 2016 to 2018 in their journey from Y4 to Y6 (from 10 to 12 years old). In this school, I investigated the lived experience of language of multilingual children with diverse linguistic backgrounds in order to understand multilingualism in education. I approached the lived experience of language by delving into 1) discourses about language and multilingualism; 2) linguistic habits of children at school; and, 3) the role of affect in the way children think about and use language(s).

The analysis of the data gathered through observations, interviews and language portraits (Busch 2018) shows that for the participants 1) a modernist view of language constructs the multilingual self; 2) a multilingual medium that only includes the institutional languages is legitimate in school as long as languages are kept separate; and that 3) shame 'moves' multilingual children when using their whole linguistic repertoire to communicate or approach language learning. It seems that when they are in school, shame is mediating language use, at the same time as it is mediated by language ideologies, i.e. preventing children to use language(s) that are perceived as illegitimate. The findings of this thesis illustrate that a monolingual habitus still prevails in language teaching (Gogolin, 1997). In order to pursue the transformation towards a multilingual habitus (Benson 2013) and a more inclusive multilingual pedagogy, language teaching (including EFL and CLIL classes) could strive for three principles which are the main outcomes of this investigation: 1) deconstructing modernist views of language with the students (using language portraits as a starting point); 2) building vocabulary knowledge legitimizing multilingual and *translanguaging label quests*, and 3) developing a non-threatening atmosphere and a safe space based on *multilingual comfort*. These tenets could help in transforming the still predominant monolingual habitus in schools and build what I call 'multilingual empathy' in language education.

Zusammenfassung

Globalisierungsprozesse haben über die letzten Jahrzehnte die Art und Weise verändert, wie wir Sprache(n) verwenden und über sie nachdenken (Martin-Jones, Blackledge & Creese 2012). Transnationale sowie Migrationsströme, technologischer Fortschritt, die Verbreitung des Englischen als Weltsprache und die Ausbreitung von Ungleichheit (Kroon, Blommaert, Jie 2013) haben sich auf die gegenwärtige soziolinguistische Landschaft in Schulen sowie auf die Vielfalt der individuellen Erfahrungen mit Mehrsprachigkeit ausgewirkt. Daher vertrete ich die Auffassung, dass das Verstehen von Mehrsprachigkeit in der Gegenwart mit der Erforschung des Spracherleben von Individuen beginnt. Entsprechend ist die vorliegende Arbeit eine Ethnografie mehrsprachiger Kinder an einer Grundschule auf den Balearen, in der ich eine Gruppe von Schüler:innen über einen Zeitraum von zwei Jahren (2016–2018) auf ihrem Weg von 4. zur 6. Schulstufe (10–12 Jahren) begleite. In dieser Schule untersuche ich das Spracherleben mehrsprachiger Kinder mit unterschiedlichen sprachlichen Hintergründen, um Mehrsprachigkeit im Bildungswesen zu verstehen. Ich nähere mich dem Spracherleben, indem ich folges untersuche: 1) Diskurse über Sprache und Mehrsprachigkeit, 2) sprachliche Gewohnheiten der Kinder in der Schule und 3) die Rolle des Affekts bei der Art und Weise, wie Kinder über Sprache(n) denken und sie verwenden.

Die Analyse der durch Beobachtungen, Interviews und Sprachenporträts (Busch 2018) gesammelten Daten zeigt, dass für die Teilnehmer 1) eine modernistische Sicht auf Sprache das mehrsprachige Selbst konstruiert, 2) ein mehrsprachiges Medium, das nur die institutionellen Sprachen umfasst, in der Schule legitim ist, solange die Sprachen getrennt gehalten werden, und dass 3) Scham mehrsprachige Kinder „bewegt“, wenn sie ihr gesamtes sprachliches Repertoire zur Kommunikation oder zum Sprachenlernen nutzen. Es hat den Anschein, dass Scham in der Schule den Sprachgebrauch vermittelt und gleichzeitig durch Sprachideologien vermittelt wird, d.h. dass Scham die Kinder daran hindert, Sprachen zu verwenden, die als illegitim wahrgenommen werden. Die Ergebnisse dieser Arbeit zeigen, dass im Sprachunterricht immer noch ein monolingualer Habitus vorherrscht. Um den Wandel hin zu einem mehrsprachigen Habitus (Benson 2013) und einer inklusiveren mehrsprachigen Pädagogik voranzutreiben, könnte der Sprachunterricht (einschließlich EFL- und CLIL-Klassen) drei Prinzipien anstreben, die direkte Ergebnisse dieser Untersuchung sind: 1) die Dekonstruktion modernistischer Ansichten über Sprache mit den Schülerinnen und Schülern (unter Verwendung von Sprachenporträts als Ausgangspunkt); 2) der Aufbau von Vokabularwissen, das eine mehrsprachige und *translanguagierende label quest* legitimiert, und 3) die Entwicklung einer nicht bedrohlichen Atmosphäre und eines sicheren Raums, der auf *mehrsprachigem Komfort* basiert. Diese Grundsätze könnten dazu beitragen, den immer noch vorherrschenden monolingualen Habitus in den Schulen zu verändern und das aufzubauen, was ich als „mehrsprachige Empathie“ in der Sprachausbildung bezeichne.

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1. Introduction

1.1. Rationale

The demonstration led by teachers, students and parents started at my old high-school and marched down the street towards the city centre. The call urged everyone to wear green t-shirts, symbolizing the rejection to the privatization of schooling and the support for a state-funded education that, until then, had characterized the schools of the Balearic Islands (henceforth: the BI). The first stop was the Ministry of Education's headquarters. There, while the flood of people was becoming bigger and bigger, the first manifest against the new decree called TIL (*Tractament Integrat de Llengües*) was shouted out. At the time of the demonstration, the first of many more to come, this decree had just been approved by the right-wing regional government, then governing in majority in the BI. This policy would be the first document to interrupt an education model that had Catalan as the only medium of instruction and would introduce English and Spanish as media of instruction in state schools too. Standing there, in front of the Ministry of Education, one could feel that there was much more than that education policy at stake and what caught my attention were the badges pinned on our t-shirts that displayed the British flag within a shape of a heart and the motto 'English yes, TIL no'.

An education model with Catalan as the only medium of instruction in the BI was a product of a language-as-a-right movement that was initiated with a long language revitalization process, strongly grounded in language policies. This process started in the late 80s, after the Spanish dictatorship had forbidden the use of any national language other than Spanish. In 2013, the introduction of TIL was perceived as a threat to the well-established Catalan education model, as it was now introducing Spanish and English as media of instruction on equal terms in the curriculum. This would mean less input in the Catalan language, for many considered as key to learn the language in a context were Spanish had more power. There, standing in front of the Ministry of Education, it became obvious that whatever the implementation outcome of the trilingual model would be, it was about to change the lived experience of an entire generation of students and at least two issues were implicitly raised with unknown consequences for the linguistic experience of the Islanders: a) the fact that English was positioned within the bilingual struggle (Spanish-Catalan), placed in the middle of the conflict almost as a neutral force, symbolizing the power of English in the new sociolinguistic order of globalization and b) the

implications of this power for the linguistic experience of multilingual children on the Islands, many with different languages, backgrounds and stories.

I then moved along the 'green tide' of teachers, parents and students as an English and CLIL teacher in my mid-twenties, and as the manifest was shouted out, I could only wonder what was actually happening with other languages on the Island.

1.2. Multilingualism in globalisation

In the last few decades, the study of multilingualism in education has taken a sociolinguistic turn that aims to account for how globalisation processes are changing the way we use and think about language(s) (Martin-Jones, Blackledge & Creese 2012). Transnational/migration flows, technological advances, the spread of English as a global language and the spread of inequality (Kroon, Blommaert, Jie 2013) have an impact on the present sociolinguistic landscape in schools and on the diversity of individual experiences with multilingualism. Understanding these experiences is important to adjust language policies and teaching practices to the constant changes of language and society and to point towards an education that addresses diversity. These changes can be observed in schools, institutional settings where children with diverse linguistic backgrounds are socialised, learning from a very young age what linguistic resources are valued (e.g., Martín Rojo 2010) and what type of multilingualism is preferred (Kramsch 2009). This, in turn has an impact on the language practices of children and their relationship with language(s).

In contrast with the past, when discourses about language(s) positioned (linguistic) diversity as a problem (Ruiz 1984), product of a political agenda centred on creating bounded nations and the homogenisation of the population; today, the acquisition of language(s) is often celebrated as a resource (García 2009a). This consideration of multilingualism as an asset goes hand in hand with the commodification of languages in the current global economy, in which languages are considered a skill that can be measured and that give added value to the individual that can prove knowledge of several languages (Heller 2003, 2010). However, underpinning these two ways of thinking about linguistic diversity, and through the historical evolution of our conceptualisation of languages and multilingualism, it seems that the central belief has always been that languages are natural entities that belong either to the nation and/or to people. This might be the reason why despite the discursive shift towards a positive orientation to linguistic diversity in education, not every(one's) multilingualism is praised in the same way, but multilingualism is mainly valued

when it is seen as a set of parallel monolingualisms (Heller 2006), and depending on what languages are present in the mix (Cenoz & Gorter 2011). These assumptions are enacted in the classrooms in several ways, while feeding the children's experience: a) in the foreign language class, teaching practices focus on teaching "how to read monolingual foreign language texts without any consideration of other language(s) the students might bring to the classroom" (Kramsch 2009: 3); and b) in school, languages are categorised according to their symbolic capital (English at the top), while some linguistic resources are devalued (Martín Rojo 2010).

In the meantime, and against the backdrop of globalisation, while national borders are becoming fuzzier with the increasing mobility of people and capital, discourses questioning the naturalisation of languages as fixed/bounded entities are emerging (e.g., Makoni & Pennycook 2007). These discourses become apparent when observing the present complex experiences with language(s) that challenge past assumptions and conceptualisations of language and multilingualism that have been informing our practices to date. Yet, debates turn around how to better capture this complexity in research (Rampton & Blommaert 2016).

This project aims to capture the complex multilingual experience of children in a multilingual school on one of the Balearic Islands, a case that can serve as a window to understand how globalisation processes are impacting schools in the present. It builds on current research on the study of multilingualism and linguistic diversity that re-thinks past epistemological perspectives and approaches multilingualism by foregrounding the lived experience of language of multilingual children. These considerations are further explored in the following section.

1.3. Approaches to multilingualism in globalisation

Like in other fields of humanities research and inspired by social constructionism, a line of research in applied linguistics that is challenging past assumptions by questioning fixed categories is becoming salient to explain what is happening with multilingualism in the present. These studies, leading to what some have labelled 'the trans- turn' in applied linguistics (Hawkins & Mori 2018), have as a main concern the analysis of language practices of multilingual speakers (often in relation to language ideologies) and show the complexity of what people think and do with language(s). Examples of attempts to conceptualise the complex use of language(s) in globalisation are captured in the coinage of new terms like *polylanguaging* (Jorgensen 2008), *transidiomatic practice* or

translingual activism (Makoni & Pennycook 2007), *translanguaging* (García & Li Wei 2014) or *crossing* (Rampton 2009), among others. However, regardless of how polemic and/or contested these terms might be, in this project I would like to rather focus on the two main questions that arise from the debates that lead to the emergence of these terms and that will guide my epistemological stance.

The first big question, which is at the centre of these discussions, is the nature of language (i.e., what is language). One of the claims is in raising awareness of the distinction between language (i.e., communication, action) and languages (as categories, e.g., Spanish, English). The move is not to say that we can do without categories, but to acknowledge that categorical constructions will always be ideological configurations and they can therefore serve as weapons to empower or disempower groups of people. Theoretically, the construction of languages is exemplified from a historical perspective in the (de)construction of languages as invented artifacts (e.g., Makoni & Pennycook 2007), and alternatively some researchers take on the concept of linguistic repertoire (Gumperz 1964) to refer to the way one speaks.

The second discussion, focuses on the empirical approach that follows this conceptualisation of languages and the revision of the concept of linguistic repertoire (Busch, 2012). For this, researchers often take the subject as a starting point, that is, the point is not to disregard the concept of languages as constructed, but rather take the construction that each individual makes of them. In fact, to approach the way one speaks, that is, the linguistic repertoire of an individual, is to understand more than what is uttered in a particular moment:

> The range of choices available to a speaking subject is not limited only by grammatical rules and knowledge of social conventions. Instead, particular languages or ways of speaking can have such strong emotional or linguistic-ideological connotations that they are unavailable or only partly available at particular moments. Our repertoire is not determined solely by the linguistic resources we have, but sometimes by those we do not have; these can become noticeable in a given situation as a gap, a threat or a desire. (Busch 2017: 356)

Therefore, to understand how one speaks, it is necessary to delve into more than the way one uses language, but also to understand emotions and ideologies that are part of the lived experience of an individual and that lead to that practice of language. In this investigation, I then delve into the lived experience of language of individuals by exploring the subject's discourses (ways of thinking), language practices, emotions and affect.

1.4. Research questions

In sum, the study aims to theorise the lived experience of language of multilingual children at school at the intersection of these three topics: discourses, practices and affect. The objectives of this research are:

1. to gain an understanding of the main **discourses** that children use to construct their multilingual identities and account for language ideologies in which children are socialised at school.
2. to describe **linguistic practices** of children by observing children in interaction in different spaces within school.
3. to explore the role of **affect and emotions** in the way one uses and thinks about ones' linguistic repertoire.

In this way, and informed by ethnographic approaches, thoughts and behaviours of the participants will be captured in the study. The objectives described above are comprehended in the following research questions:

RQ1. What discourses (or ways of talking) about language and multilingualism are used in the construction of their multilingual self?

a) What set of assumptions and beliefs about language and multilingualism are located in children's discourses?
b) What view of the world is drawn in children's discourses about language and multilingualism?
c) What ideology of language is promoted in this view of the world?

RQ2. What are the linguistic habits or the practiced language policy in school A?

a) What medium do children orient to in their language practices in school?
b) What interactional norms do speakers construct in their language practices in school?

RQ3. What is the role of affect in the children's lived experience of language and multilingualism?

a) What affective practices or bodily responses are more intensely experienced in school A?

b) How are children ‘moved’ by these experiences?

In order to answer these questions, this study uses an ethnographic approach and different instruments (i.e., language portraits, observations, etc.) that are described in more detailed in the methodology chapter. The longitudinal character of this ethnography and the amount of data collected allows for a thick description of the context, setting and participants. In the analysis, several methods have been used, but as other ethnographic work, it is primarily theme-based. The study builds on other ethnographies or studies that take an ethnographic approach to multilingualism at educational settings (e.g., Heller 1994, 2006; Jaffe 1999, 2003; Lamarre 2007; Martín Rojo 2010; Woolard 1989, 2016), but its distinctive feature relies on the inclusion of affect as a concept that can shed light on the lived experience of children, as well as the exploration of a unique context where (inclusive) multilingualism is still a pending subject: the Balearic Islands, in Spain.

1.5. Doing ethnography in school

I have answered these research questions by doing ethnography in one school of the Islands. My journey into school A started a long time before the study began. In 2010, I was a language teacher on the Island where I met other teacher colleagues. I was not working in school A myself, but I participated in collaborative projects with teachers of that school. My friendships and my contacts as a teacher in the context got me complete access to the site, documents, people, etc. For this research, I chose to investigate one cohort, which I call cohort A, and I followed them as they moved from year 4 to year 6. Their thoughts, practices and affects are captured in my data and analysed in the study.

Doing ethnography in school comes with several challenges, especially if you are not an anthropologist. To solve questions of label, some authors try to make a distinction among different approaches to ethnography, for example, Green and Bloome (2004) distinguish among doing ethnography, adopting an ethnographic perspective or using ethnographic tools. Others, rely on the main principles of ethnography to make their claim: thick description (Geertz 1973), participant observation (Shah 2017), and the duration of one year or more (Hammersley & Atkinson 2007), are among the ones that are mostly cited when talking about doing ethnography. In this study, I rely on the main principles of ethnography, acknowledging the limitations of doing ethnography as an outsider of the field of anthropology. More on how I shaped this ethnography is detailed in

the methodology chapter, but I consider that what makes this study to be ethnographic is that the result of the inquiry is a description of regularities of social behaviour in a social situation, experienced by the ethnographer by being there (Erickson 1984: 52).

1.6. Organization of the thesis

This thesis is structured in 9 chapters. The introduction presents the rationale and describes the topic of research. Research questions are presented in this chapter. Chapter 2 explores the context of the Balearic Islands, reviewing main education policies related to language that have led to the present and the relevance of English in the education system. Chapter 3 provides the theoretical framework in three sections: the first section is dedicated to explore discourses and language ideologies in education; section two addresses language practices from the point of view of linguistic legitimacy in schools; and the last section reviews affect studies in the search for a conceptualisation of affect that can be transferred to the context of education. Chapter 4 is the methodological chapter and presents in depth how the investigation was developed, beginning with the stance taken, to the instruments, context and participants. This chapter ends with a reflexivity section that helps to understand how to interpret the conclusions of the thesis making the researcher positionality transparent.

Chapter 5 to 8 are the analytical chapters of the thesis. Chapter 5 is descriptive, and aims at providing an ethnographic picture of the school and presents more in depth the voices of the ethnography. Chapter 6 to 8 are exploratory. Each chapter deals with one research question that is analysed and discussed. Chapter 6, deals with the discourses that children in school make use of to construct their multilingual selves. Chapter 7 explores the language practices that children orient to in school in different settings going through one day in the school life of children. And chapter 8, analyses the affective practices that are more intensely lived by the participants in the study and discusses how affect ‘moves’ them in school.

Chapter 9 is the conclusion of the thesis and gathers a summary of the main outcomes as well as the implications for language teaching.

2. Context

As stated already, this study is set in the Balearic Islands, an archipelago located in the Mediterranean Sea, at the east of Spanish mainland. The Balearic Islands consist of four main islands: Menorca, Ibiza, Formentera and Mallorca. The ethnographic work in this research was conducted in a school in one of these Islands.

Figure 1. Context map

In Spain, several languages are official languages. Catalan is one of them, mainly spoken in the so-called Catalan territories, some referring to them as 'the Catalan countries'. These territories include Catalonia, Valencia and the Balearic Islands. Although these areas follow a similar political agenda, the implementation of language policies has followed somewhat different paths, especially due to different sociolinguistic features.

In this section, I focus on what happened in the Balearic Islands after Franco's dictatorship that forbade the use of languages other than Spanish in the country and that was followed by a series of political measures to revitalize the minoritized language. In this section, and while dissecting the language policies of the context, the challenges of globalisation (the spread of

English, migration flows and technological advances) become clear too in more recent actions and set a complex sociolinguistic scenario.

In this chapter, I review the main language policies that shape education in the region. In the first section, I introduce the education system in the Balearic Islands, in a general overview. I then delve into the language policies that followed Franco's dictatorship including the Spanish Constitution of 1978, the statutes of autonomy (*estatuts d'autonomia*) and the linguistic normalization law (*llei de normalització lingüística*) of 1986. I finish with the challenges of globalization that paint a multilingual landscape in schools and beyond. This has led to some controversial education policies that make visible the 'English frenzy', while making invisible other matters related to multilingualism and migration in schools.

2.1. The education system in the Balearic Islands

Education in the Balearic Islands, as in the other autonomies in Spain (i.e., the Basque Country, Galicia, etc.), responds to the central state educational law (at the moment of writing, the LOMLOE) and is co-regulated with other policies that concern each autonomous region. In the regions were other co-official languages, other than Spanish, are 'own languages' (e.g., Catalonia, Valencia and the Balearic Islands), specific language policies might follow that affect the education framework of the region.

Schooling in the Balearic Islands is structured in four stages: nursery (3-5), which is optional, primary (6-12), secondary (12-16), and post-compulsory secondary education called *batxillerat* (16-18). Compulsory education ends at the age of 16 with secondary education. Students that continue in the system can then take *batxillerat*, a route that leads to university, or they can choose to take vocational/professional training. The latter can also lead to university in a longer path but more typically leads directly to the professional world. To access university, students take a set of exams known as *selectivitat* after the *batxillerat*.

In Spain there are three types of schools: state, semi-private (called *concertats*) and private. The difference is based on their funding system. State schools are owned, funded and run by the government. Semi-private and private schools can be owned by an individual or an institution and are funded by the state (if they are semi-private) or privately funded (if they are private schools). On the Island where the study is conducted, there are no private schools, and only a few semi-private ones. Therefore, the most common mode of education is state funded and students are generally distributed by area of residence, thus choice of school is not normally an option.

2.2. Language policies in the Balearic Islands

The Balearic Islands is one of the territories where Catalan is recognized as 'own language'. Catalan is a Romance language related to Occitan, French, Italian and Spanish. In Spain it is also own language of Catalonia and Valencia. Historically, Catalan was constantly banned from schools from the beginning of compulsory education and the dictatorships of Primo de Rivera (1923–1929) and especially Franco (1936/39–1975) were particularly radical against the use of Catalan (Vila i Moreno 2008, 2011). The monolingual panorama of Spain changed after Franco's death and the transition towards democracy. At this point, Spain became a constitutional, parliamentary monarchy with a semi-federal structure known as el *estado de las autonomías* (the state of autonomies), which allowed the three major Catalan-speaking societies (i.e., Catalonia, Valencia and the Balearic Islands) to start to develop their own language-in-education policies (Arnau i Vila 2013). Children living in these regions were from then on expected to learn both Catalan and Spanish which are co-official languages. However, each autonomous government developed its own (educational) language policies and even if they followed a similar path, the implementation and result have been slightly different, leaving a distinct sociolinguistic situation in the different Catalan regions, which also own a different variety of the language. It is important to notice that individuals that speak languages other than those of the country, tend to adopt Spanish as their vehicular language, even in the family environment (Arnau 2013).

Now, after 30 years of the Balearic Islands autonomous government, the language policies related to the Catalan language and the revitalisation process of the language have gone through different phases. This process is often described as the most unstable of the processes in the Catalan regions and three documents become essential to understand the present situation of the Islands. Starting from the democratic Spanish context that began to develop after Franco's dictatorship and the education/language policies that affect the sociolinguistic situation in the Balearic Island, these documents are: the Spanish Constitution (1978), the statute of autonomy (1983) and the linguistic normalization law or *llei the normalització lingüística* (1986).

2.2.1. The Spanish Constitution (1978): the transition to democracy

Article 3.1 in the Constitution in 1978 declares Spanish as the official language of the State and states the right and obligation to learn this language. Following this point, article 3.2 of the same text talks about the official status of the other languages of Spain in their respective

autonomies. This status is regulated in their respective statutes of autonomy. However, the Constitution does not express the obligation to learn the other official languages in all the Spanish territory and therefore limits its use to the regions where they are spoken and to its regulation in each autonomy. In any case, the Constitution in 1978 is seen as a step forward in the acknowledgement of a multilingual society that was previously neglected under the monolingual regime of the dictatorship.

The official status of other languages has been declared in the different autonomies in their statute of autonomy (e.g., Galician in Galicia, Basque in the Basque region and Catalan in the Catalan territories). In the Balearic Islands, this document declares Catalan to be the 'own language' (*llengua pròpia*) of the Islands and thus presents the region as a bilingual region where both Spanish and Catalan are official languages.

2.2.2. The statute of autonomy: Catalan 'own language' of the Balearic Islands

The statute of autonomy of the Balearic Islands was passed in 1983, a few years later than in Catalonia (in 1979). This is in line with the process of the Balearic Islands in revitalizing the use of Catalan in society, always a few steps behind and encountering more opposition in their political force. The statute of autonomy established the official status of Catalan and Spanish and states that both languages were going to be taught at school. At the beginning, each school was allowed to choose the means of instruction, and hence different situations were defined: some schools made Catalan their vehicular language, others used both in equal terms and still some schools where only using Spanish. This created a situation of segregation by means of language.

The statute acknowledged the recognition of Catalan not only as official but also as 'own language' of the Balearic Islands, the non-discrimination with regard to means of language, the protection and dissemination of the own culture and heritage of the Balearic Islands, the establishment of the competences necessary for a teaching and learning of the Catalan language, the measures to normalize the use of the own language and the recognition of the unity of language, compatible with the existence of the local varieties (Cardell 2016). However, the normalization of Catalan was a process that was just starting and the situation of the Balearic Islands varied with the different political parties in government. For this, the linguistic normalization law (*llei de normalització lingüística*) in 1986, marked a turning point that politics in future times had to take into account, stating some basic steps in the path towards the restoration of Catalan in society and education.

2.2.3. Linguistic normalization law (llei the normalització lingüística) (1986)

The law 3/1986, known as the law of linguistic normalization (*llei de normalització lingüística*) was passed in the Balearic Islands a bit later than in Catalonia (1983) and was unanimously approved. It wanted to achieve the aim of the statute of autonomy, that is, to recover the social use of Catalan. This was done by regulating the use of the language in institutions, media and schools. Based on Catalonia's 1983 linguistic normalization act, it was the first step towards the implementation of the actual education model in the Balearic Islands, by which Catalan is the main language of instruction at school. For education, the law stated that schools should aim at educating bilingual and biliterate students in both Spanish and Catalan, but due to the sociolinguistic complexity and the status of Catalan, this was to be achieved by implementing a Catalan only medium of instruction. In the Balearic Islands, this was not materialized until 1994, due to a lack of resources (Pons i Vernet 2009).

The use of Catalan was regulated as a medium of instruction with the decree 92/1997, known as the *decret de mínims* and that started by implementing 50% of the subjects through Catalan. This decree complemented the law of linguistic normalization in the official regulation of its use that was to be applied in state, semi-private and private schools at pre-school, primary and secondary levels. According to this regulation, schools had four years to adapt their instruction to at least half of the subjects in Catalan which was progressively increased to 100%, as it is in the present. This legal framework forms the basis of the Catalan education model in the BI, but the use of Catalan as medium of instruction has been often a matter of debate and political parties disagree in the regulation of its use in schools. Some regard the use of Spanish as insufficient, others (if not all) promote the use of English, sometimes now as a medium of instruction too.

2.3. The challenges of globalization for specific contexts

In 2013, a trilingual model for education was passed in the Balearic Islands. Its acronym TIL, (*Tractament Integrat de Llengües*, translated as 'integrated treatment of languages') was everywhere on the news. The model wanted to introduce Spanish and English as languages of instruction in an education system that was at the time based on a Catalan only as a medium of instruction. This model claimed to be informed by new debates on multilingualism and CLIL research, and pretended to implement a trilingual education model introducing Spanish, Catalan and English as media of instruction in equal terms in the

curriculum of state schools in the BI. The promotional video was launched trilingually with a clear message:

Spanish transcript

Saber inglés nos ofrece más oportunidades ante Europa y el mundo y vuestros sueños se podrán hacer realidad, el Gobierno de las Illes Balears cree en el tratamiento integrado de lenguas que implica más formación continua en inglés para toda la comunidad educativa desde el curso 2013-2014.

Es una apuesta por el multilingüismo que mejora la proyección de futuro de nuestros hijos.

Catalan transcript

Saber anglès ens ofereix més oportunitats davant Europa i tot el món i els vostres somnis es podran fer realitat. El govern de les Illes Balears creu en el tractament integrat de llengües que implica més formació continua en anglès per a tota la comunitat educativa des del curs 2013-2014.

Es una aposta per el multilingüísme que millora la projecció de futur dels nostres fills.

English transcript

Knowing English offers more opportunities in Europe and the world and our dreams will (be)come true. The Government (in the Balearic Islands) believes in the integrated learning of languages that implies continuous training in English for all the education community from the academic year 2013-2014.

It is a commitment to multilingualism that improves the future prospects of our children.

Figure 2. Transcript promotional video for TIL

The TIL was a political reform in education that marked a turning point in the BI and symbolized the changing times in which we are living. As in many quarters of the world, it was a measure of the (now governing in majority) right-wing government, with a hidden agenda; and as in many quarters of the world it generated unprecedented social movements operating against the extreme measures that were being implemented.

At the heart of the TIL was the promise of a better future for our children. A better future that was to be guaranteed through the introduction of a multilingual model that had English as one of the languages of instruction alongside the local languages. This, however, was to be implemented in times when cuts in education (consequence of the economic crash in 2008) were being applied, leaving schools with larger ratios of students and no educational

support (e.g., language support for newcomers, attention to diversity, etc.). The message that was then launched, and perhaps the first contradiction of the decree was to create more competitive children, with less funding.

This implementation, which meant the end of the existing model based on Catalan only as a medium of instruction, was followed by two difficult years in the education history of the BI, starred by continuous strikes led by teachers and students. The TIL was the cherry on top for the society of Balearic Islands and it led to a social movement in education, known in the Balearic Islands as *la mobilització de l'embut* (Vallespir & Carrió 2016). Here, I am going to mention two of the main social actors participating in the conflict because of its relevance to the why I started this research as illustrated in the vignette that opens the introduction of the thesis: the so called 'green tide' of teachers, wearing green T-shirts that symbolized a rejection of cuts in state-funded education, which was not unique of the BI; the platform *crida* defending a state-funded education, laic and in Catalan. These two social actors summarise well the two main demands of the social movement: the language struggle (in defense of Catalan and English); and the increase of inequality due to cuts in public education that would then bridge a greater gap between state and private schooling. The movement led to unprecedented demonstrations and strikes with up to 92% of support from the population with severe consequences (see Vallespir & Carrió 2016, for a more extensive description of the conflict). The TIL was implemented for one year, with many strikes and demonstrations, and it was in the end rejected in the Supreme Court, because it attempted against the law of linguistic normalization, defending the minoritized Catalan. However, several issues remained: the promise of English (and multilingualism) for a better future, and the privatisation of the state public services in the form of cuts that forced children, who could afford it, to get support after school (e.g. extra English classes)

In July 2015, the failure of TIL was obvious, Catalan as the only medium of instruction model was re-established and the position of English became stronger.

Figure 3. Badges during the demonstration: “English yes, TIL no”.

3. Theoretical framework: discourses, language practices and affect in education and multilingualism

This chapter presents the lens I used to answer the research questions presented in chapter one and the theoretical tools that guide me through the interpretation and analysis of my data. As mentioned before, this study aims at uncovering the lived experience of language of multilingual children in school. The lived experience of language is here approached by studying discourses (i.e., what people think about language(s)), practices (or how people behave with language(s)), and affect, (i.e., how people 'move' and are 'moved' by language(s)).

This chapter is organized in three sections, each of which deals with one of the areas of study mentioned above: the first section deals with the way I read discourse and language ideologies from theoretical discussions that find its foundations in anthropology; the second section deals with language practices in the classroom, using theoretical tools from language teaching research; and finally I delve into the concept of affect as rooted in cultural studies. These three theoretical axes helped me to think through my data and theorise the lived experience of multilingual children.

Each section follows a similar structure that was necessary for me to link wider reviews of the area with the field of education and language teaching: 1) the lens through which I look at the concept, 2) the conceptualisation of the concept and related terms, 3) examples of the concept, 4) the concept in education.

3.1. Discourses

This section provides a conceptualisation of discourse rooted in anthropology, in a distinct tradition of research in multilingualism that turns to ethnography. Here, the work of Gal (1989), Heller (1992, 1995, 1999) and Woolard (1985, 1989) are signalled as the foundations of a line of enquiry that links detailed ethnographic accounts of language ideologies and interactional practices in specific contexts to wider discourses about language and identity and to particular political and economic conditions (Gardner & Martin-Jones 2012: 3).

In this chapter, I explore discourse through an ethnographic lens and I conceptualise it as related to language ideologies and cultural hegemony. After the conceptual part, I go through the dominant (or hegemonic) discourses about language and multilingualism in education

(Busch, Jardine & Tjoutuku 2006; Busch 2011; García 2009a; Ruiz 1984). I conceptualise these discourses as ways of talking about language and multilingualism that promote certain views of the phenomena. These views (i.e., sets of beliefs and assumptions) have set the ground for an ideology of language(s) as separate that appears 'common sense' in the modern school system (Blackledge & Creese 2010) and the separation of language(s) remains unquestioned despite the heteroglossic realities of many multilingual children in the present. In the face of this problem, it is observed in this section that the (new) political economy is transforming the experience of multilingualism and pushing the boundaries of language(s) to consider more 'flexible' ways of using language that can help in conceptualising multilingualism as a resource (Blackledge & Creese 2010). This is seen in discourses that legitimize hybridity and mark it as a sign of cosmopolitanism. However, I argue that the very same concept of language as a resource and the commodification of languages that follow the new political economic order is actually reproducing the same ideology of languages as separate at school.

3.1.1. An ethnographic lens to the study of language at school

The lens taken in this study follows a tradition of research in multilingualism that turns to ethnography and have as its foundations the work of Gal (1989), Heller (1992, 1995, 1999) and Woolard (1985, 1989).

Woolard (1989, 2016) started her work in the Catalonia of the 1980s in the midst of the Spanish transition to democracy and a regional process of language revitalisation in the Catalan language. In her work trajectory, she continues to study language ideologies that dominate in this bilingual region: "In Barcelona, as in many other parts of the world, language is a key symbol of ethnic identity, a marker that summarizes a number of perceived differences between groups of people" (1989: 1). In the same line of inquiry, Heller conducted her ethnographic work in Ontario (Canada), a bilingual French-English region where French is minoritized. She studied the language experience in Franco-Ontarian schools: "When I arrived in Toronto in the fall of 1982, I entered into the world of the 'invisible French'" (Heller 1994: 1). Similarly, Gal (1979) reports, through an ethnographic account, on the language shift in a Hungarian-German bilingual community in eastern Austria, where German started to replace Hungarian: "The town of Oberwart (Felsöör) in eastern Austria, is one in which after 400 years of Hungarian-German bilingualism, German

is starting to replace Hungarian in business, in the local inn and at home in everyday interaction" (Gal 1979: 2).

These ethnographies in multilingual contexts become the starting point of my understanding of discourses and how discourses are linked to language ideologies. What this research has in common with these studies is: first, an interest on ethnography to acquire knowledge about the experience of multilingualism; secondly, a special attention to the (unequal) power of language(s) and its speakers, as represented in discourses, which serves the critical standpoint that is preoccupied with inequality and issues of social justice; and finally, an acknowledgment of the importance of political economy to explain change and transformation in language and other aspects of the social world.

In these studies, three main concepts or tools become salient to research language and approach multilingualism: discourses, language ideologies and cultural hegemony.

3.1.2. Discourses, language ideologies and cultural hegemony

In this section, I delve into the concepts of discourses, language ideologies and cultural hegemony. An understanding of these provide a better understanding of the framework followed in this study.

Discourses are "ways of talking and writing that promote particular views of the world" (Cooke & Simpson 2012: 116). An understanding of discourses is linked to an understanding of ideologies that govern social structures. Ideologies "are made up of beliefs and assumptions that appear 'common sense' to members of a society and therefore often remain unquestioned" (Cooke & Simpson 2012: 117). Language Ideologies are "socially, politically, and morally loaded cultural assumptions about the way that language works in social life and about the role of particular linguistic forms in a given society" (Woolard 2016: 7) but ideologies of language are never about language alone "they exist to perpetuate the power of certain groups" (Woolard 2016: 7).

An important concept to understand the functioning of ideologies is that of power: "The study of discourse and ideology matters because of power and its control by elites. Ideology, discourse and power are inextricably linked, and they intersect with the notion of hegemony" (Cooke & Simpson 2012: 117). In the work of Heller, Gal and Woolard, the notion of cultural hegemony, emerges as essential to understand the functioning of discourses and language ideologies in the social world. The notion of hegemony is traced back to Gramsci's work

and both Gal and Woolard see it as equivalent to Bourdieu's concept of symbolic domination: "Hegemony here refers to the legitimation of the cultural authority of the dominant group, an authority that plays a significant role in social re-production" (Woolard 1985: 739).

In this view of hegemony, cultural reproduction is not only exercised through the institutions (e.g., the school and the family), but the power of dominant views of the world are shaped by political economy, particularly "specific forms of expansion and transformation of capitalism that we usually talk about in terms of the globalized new economy" (Heller 2011: 9-10).

In the following section I situate the main discourses or orientations towards language in education historically in order to understand recent debates and assess how the study of multilingualism in education has developed to date (Busch, Jardine & Tjoutuku 2006; Busch 2011; García 2009a; Ruiz 1984). I talk about three major representations of language and multilingualism in education in the past that became salient in relation to certain social movements and historical events.

3.1.3. Discourses about language(s) and multilingualism in education

Three main orientations to language and multilingualism in education are often mentioned in the literature. Language has been conceptualised as a problem, as a right and as a resource (Ruiz, 1984). I explore these representations of language below first by mapping each phase in the wider socio-political context, which will bring to the surface the dominant discourses that shaped them, then briefly mentioning how these discourses were enacted in language and educational policies, and finally depicting how these orientations at a societal level affected representations of multilingual speakers as individuals.

García (2009) takes the end of the Second World War to understand discourses of language as a problem in education: "Especially after World War I and II, nations within the constructed 'nation-state', whose languages did not coincide with the one elevated to privileged status, became cause for concern." (García 2009a: 22). Starting the argument at this particular historical period, one can imagine the world immersed in projects of nation building and dictatorship regimes ruling at a national level in some countries. Such was the case of Spain. In this context, the role of language became central to the construction of national unity (Heller 1999) and homogeneity was the key to build a powerful nation.

Multilingualism and linguistic diversity were then viewed as a threat and therefore treated as a problem (Ruiz 1984), or something that needed to be managed.

Language policies promoted monolingualism, enacting nationalist discourses of dominant communities and elites in the pursuit of linguistic uniformity and homogeneity (May 2001), constructing multilingualism as an obstacle to a political project of nation-building (Martin-Jones, Blackledge & Creese 2012). Education policies were based on these dominant discourses of uniformity, homogeneity and otherness (Cooke & Simpson 2012) and schools were immersed in a 'monolingual habitus' (Gogolin 1997), where multilingual practices were to be sanctioned (e.g., the case of Spain or Wales). These pedagogical practices were supported by some research findings, based on structural linguistics' conception of languages as bounded entities. These findings pointed to the disadvantages of bi- or multilingual education and spread the belief that too many languages confuse the speaking subject.

At an individual level, the multilingual speaker was then considered an exception and monolingual practices were not only the norm, but also the target. There was a common tendency of adaptation to the 'ruling norm' (Busch, Jardine & Tjoutuku 2006: 7), enhancing language hierarchies and the hegemonic power of standard varieties (Martin-Jones, Blackledge & Creese 2012). Language assimilation is both the intended aim and the actual result of education in such a view of language and multilingualism as problem.

In the 1970s with the raise of anti-colonialist and regionalist movements in the fight for human rights which emerged in the decade of the 1960s (Busch, Jardine & Tjoutuku 2006; Busch, 2011; García 2009a), minority language speakers were claiming their rights. Different regions undertook a process of language revitalisation that turned language into a key symbol for group mobilisation and solidarity (Martin-Jones, Blackledge & Creese 2012). This was also the case in the Balearic Islands, which came a little late into these processes that had been initiated a decade later (see chapter 2). Nevertheless, language remained central to nation-building and individuals' identities became strongly attached to their membership of imagined communities (Anderson 1991), which shared the same language. Language diversity and plurality were starting to be acknowledged in the wider society, although, ironically, in the midst of this fight for human rights, language separation was becoming stronger and language hierarchies more obvious in multilingual communities (Martin-Jones, Blackledge & Creese 2012). This was also the case with Catalan and Spanish in the Balearic Islands.

The recognition of diversity and plurality was reflected in language policies, and education began to adopt bilingual programs of some kind to guarantee the right to education in the first language or the mother tongue. This right is a key concept and symbol of belonging for speakers of minority (or minoritized) languages. In the Balearic Islands this was enacted in the policy of linguistic normalization (*normalitació lingüística*) that included a model of education with Catalan as the only medium of instruction (see chapter 2). However, in this view of language and multilingualism, languages are still considered bounded units and are framed within a monolingual paradigm (Busch 2011), resulting in the tendency that languages are to be kept separate in school.

At an individual level, bilingual speakers within this phase are still measured against monolingual standards and their goal needs to be to become balanced bilinguals (Baker 2011). Thus, while bilingual education is granted, bi/multilingual speakers are still compared against standards of questionable validity. Research based on such standards led to research findings that are still used to construct a deficit in the bi- or multilingual competence of individual speakers. Thus, terms such as semilinguals (Baker 2011) are used to refer to bi-multilingual speakers, who fail in the unrealistic goal of becoming "two monolinguals in one body" (Gravelle 1996: 11).

In the context of globalisation and the greater mobility of people which followed from the 1990s onwards, institutions, such as schools, started a move to conceptualize multilingualism as an asset. The point is that mobility and transnational flows have now broken borders among countries, and therefore, language(s) no longer belong to nations, but to individuals. This becomes obvious when people do not fit in clear-cut categories, take the example of migrants, that might have children in the host country but the children might not speak 'the language of the country' as a first language. From this point onwards, it is easier to see that it is not languages that come into contact, but people who do. In research, some scholars have started questioning the validity of past work in the field of multilingualism (e.g., Otheguy, García & Reid 2015), arguing that this research was based on conceptualisations of languages as objects and bounded systems disregarding the subject perspective. In this past research, languages were constructed by discourses of nation-building, regardless of the fact that languages are spoken by individuals, and therefore, the assumption now becomes that subjects are the ones who make use of languages influenced by their beliefs about the world. Following such arguments, the claim is to turn to a subject perspective, and the battle becomes epistemological (Makoni & Pennycook 2007), shifting towards ethnographic approaches, which can better capture the emic reality of

multilingualism. In sum, scholars that view language in this light, argue that after a long history of construction of language as an object, central to nation-building (Heller 1999), and structuralist conceptions of languages as bounded entities, a better way of capturing multilingual realities is to adopt a post-structuralist view of language (Otheguy, García & Reid 2015). This involves first, de-constructing language ideologies, and then, re-conceptualising language, with better epistemologically informed methodologies (Busch, Jardine & Tjoutuku 2006; Li Wei 2011). I argue that the point made in this last view of language and multilingualism is not only to reconceptualise language as a resource, but also to bring awareness to speakers, including students and teachers in educational institutions, of other dominant discourses that still coexist and shape linguistic practices.

If we look at this phase through a historical lens, we can see that in globalization, multilingualism turns out to be the norm, and in research, the validity of boundaries among languages are questioned in the light of multilingual practices that foster communication rather than standardization and normativity. There is a move that points away from a conceptualisation of languages as fixed or separate entities, to a view of language(s) as a resource, which is fluid and dynamic. Heteroglossic realities start to be visible in schools, and language competence in absolute terms is questioned, but seen rather organised around activities, situations and topics (Blommaert 2005).

At an individual level, multilingualism in this phase of globalisation, is viewed as an asset but yet there is a divide in what is considered deviant and what is considered normal. That is, discourses would place the mixing of languages sometimes as deviant, while at times as trendy and as a mark of cosmopolitanism. In all, this phase is perhaps more a movement than a reality that consists in questioning past assumptions about languages existing in strict separation in one's mind, and in acknowledging that multilingual speakers deploy their linguistic repertoire in situated and negotiated practices, sensible to environmental factors (Canagarajah 2007).

To sum up the section above, and parting from these discourses of language and multilingualism, Grosjean (1985, 1994) talks about two views of language: a monolingual view of multilingualism, consequence of monoglossic ideologies and discourses that promote uniformity and homogeneity, and a more holistic view of multilingualism, characterised by the observation of heteroglossic realities.

In a monolingual view, language is conceptualised as a problem or a right (Ruiz 1984), considered as fixed and autonomous systems (Baker 2011). At a societal level, a monolingual ideology is strongly related to the construction of nation states (Martin-Jones, Blackledge & Creese 2012) and multilingualism is seen as a threat to national unity, while linguistic hierarchies are promoted in a diglossic manner. At an individual level, multilinguals are seen as "two monolinguals in one body" (Gravelle 1996: 11) and terms such as semilinguals are used to refer to multilinguals that are seen as deficient speakers and a deficit ideology follows (Martín Rojo 2010).

A more holistic view of bi- and multilingualism is promoted in developments related to globalisation and the view of languages as a resource (Ruiz 1984). This is supported by the new realities of multilingual speakers and new ways of using languages in multilingual communities, which promote languaging as fluid and dynamic processes of meaning making (e.g., Li Wei 2011). In this view, language(s) as countable entities are conceptualised as social constructions, and epistemologically we study individual linguistic repertoires or idiolects (Otheguy, García & Reid 2015). At a societal level, we move towards a transglossic view of language in a globalized world: "a stable, and yet dynamic, communicative network with many languages in functional interrelationship, instead of being assigned separate functions" (García 2009a: 79). At an individual level, multilingual practices such as translanguaging are seen as the norm and not as deviant (García & Li Wei 2014).

However, these two ways of viewing language and multilingualism do not exist in isolation and discourses cohabit in the same spaces, sometimes within the same person. The important thing though is that they exist, and circulating discourses are only the manifestation of what is legitimate or possible (Heller 1999). An empirical question however, concerns the conceptualisation of language(s) and multilingualism as a resource, since while one would think that this orientation towards language was more in line with the heteroglossic reality of multilingual speakers in schools, studies reveal that not all languages are considered to have the same value. In the case of Spain, for example, multilingualism is generally seen as an asset when English, or other powerful languages, are in the repertoire of the speaker, but minoritized languages are not generally considered like that (Gorter & Cenoz 2012). The question to be raised is then, how language is experienced as a resource in school and who experiences it as such.

3.1.4. An ideology of separate bilingualism

In their study of complementary schools in England, Blackledge and Creese (2010) talk about two ideologies of bilingualism, an ideology of separate bilingualism and an ideology of flexible bilingualism (2010: 19). They use the former to describe what Heller (1999: 271) has called parallel monolingualism or what Baker (2003) and Fishman (1967) refer to as bilingualism with diglossia; the latter is used to describe translanguaging in Garcia and Li Wei's (2014) terms or what Bailey (2007), following Bakhtin (1986), calls heterolgossia or the simultaneous use of different kinds of forms or signs.

The findings reveal that young people and teachers in complementary schools perform both ideologies in their contradictory sets of beliefs and practices. An ideology of separate bilingualism is often constructed in views of language as discrete and tied to the nation and representations of culture in simplified and coherent ways. This representation of language and culture is included in Blommaert et al., (2012) under what they label as modernist ideologies of language. In pedagogical contexts, in complementary schools, Blackledge and Creese (2010: 109) find that this is the default mode. It is based on the notion of ideal bilingualism as a kind of double monolingualism, so that "true, real, good linguistic competence is that which takes as its model the way one uses language in a monolingual setting" (Heller 2006: 83). The aim is then to keep languages separate with the pedagogic argument that in this way exposure to the target language is greater. According to Blackledge and Creese (2010), orthodoxies that promote this principle give support to ideologies of separate bilingualism. To sum up, the assumption is that one-language-equals-one ethnicity/culture (this is also referred elsewhere as the ethnolinguistic assumption) and there is fear of contaminating or losing a language if they are not kept separate. In fact, an ideology of separate bilingualism, as they put it, hides "a response to a fear and anxiety relating to the potential loss of the community language, and the cultural knowledge it is considered to index" (Blackledge & Creese 2010: 122) and for teachers it allows participants to link the community language to particular heritages and histories.

In their findings, Blackledge and Creese (2010) also provide a glimpse of how an ideology of flexible bilingualism is constructed in complementary schools. This seems more related to Grosjean's heteroglossic view of language mentioned above. The authors describe flexible bilingualism as the view of language as a social resource without clear boundaries, which places the speaker at the heart of the interaction. This ideology is more in line with

postmodern thought and the questioning of categories that have been used in the past in education (e.g., native speaker vs. non-native speaker). This representation of language, albeit a reality in many children's everyday informal interaction, is little observed in schools. In Blackledge and Creese (2010) it takes the shape of using linguistic awareness of English in creative ways and the teacher allowing classroom humour for language exploration.

In conclusion, we could perhaps talk of an ideology of separate bilingualism despite of a 'flexible' reality represented in the children's everyday practices. This is the problem that is faced when exploring the lived experience of multilingual children at school, and perhaps the irony of language policies that by conceptualising languages as a resource, within the new political economy (in which languages are commodified as assets), are reinforcing and reproducing past ideologies that conceptualised languages as separate and maintain the same principles of language separation at school.

3.2. Language practices

This section discusses language practices through the lens of linguistic legitimacy. I first describe an ideal multilingual school following Shohamy (2006), who introduces the notion of linguistic legitimacy. I use this introduction to pin down the review of language practices that I conduct in this section. Thus, and with the aim to think of language practices through this lens, I follow this part by conceptualising the notion of legitimate language in relation to other terms that can be useful to theorise language practices in schools through the lens of linguistic legitimacy.

Shohamy (2006) positions national languages as the only legitimate language in schools and her work points to two debates that are often in the spotlight of multilingual matters in schools: firstly, the construction of the monolingual norm (the obligation of using only one language or one language at a time in bilingual communities/schools); and second, a linguistic order/structure that assumes some languages or forms of language to be more powerful than others as they are seen as appropriate, while others are by default and by assumption of the monolingual norm, illegitimate, silenced and invisible.

After conceptualizing linguistic legitimacy, I will review the literature of legitimate language practices in schools and new research on hybrid language practices. I divide this section in two parts: In the first part, I look into research that orients to monolingual practices, that is, the common legitimate option in the past and often in the present; and then, I continue describing a line of work that orients to multilingual practices, echoing new trends such as

translanguaging (García and Li Wei 2014). This review leads to the empirical question of whether there is space for multilingual practices in schools today or we are still immersed in a monolingual habitus (Gogolin 1997). In the last part of this section, I sketch the framework that I will use to discover the orientation of children in school and how they legitimize or de-legitimize certain practices.

3.2.1. The ideal multilingual school and linguistic legitimacy

In the presence of globalization, mobility and technological euphoria, applied linguists and language teachers often agree in talking about multilingualism as a valuable resource and schools should prepare students for being successful multilingual speakers/users (Kramsch 2009). This is manifested in efforts to develop multilingual competence. Shohamy (2006: 171) imagines a multilingual school as a space where students would not only have "the right and legitimacy to use, maintain, and preserve their multilingual competencies", but also would have "the opportunity to further develop their multilingual competence and reach higher levels". Shohamy (2006: 171) further states that this could be done by either "using multiple languages as medium of instruction, having access to sources in these languages or being assessed in these languages". Shohamy (2006) continues by acknowledging that monolingual students, in the old sense, should have the opportunities to learn and acquire additional languages from their peers. The invisibility of other languages, and the lack of knowledge regarding students' multilingual competencies will otherwise result in their "attrition, elimination, and suppression, as well as creating feelings of marginalization and exclusion" (Shohamy, 2006: 171).

This imagination of a multilingual school would perhaps raise a number of debates and controversies among different professionals in the area of language learning and teaching, but Shohamy's approach is in line with promoting social justice and equality as far as linguistic diversity is concerned. However, the ideal vs. the reality exposed in Shohamy (2006: 173) reveals educational contexts where "a specific national language, spoken by the powerful groups in the society, is the only legitimate language in schools". English obtains legitimacy too in schools around the world as it becomes the global language that should be used for commerce, to obtain a better world status and for economic purposes, according to ideologies of globalization. In the struggle for legitimacy however, "other languages, especially those used by immigrants and indigenous groups, are viewed as having low value and status with no legitimate place in schools" (Shohamy 2006: 173). The result is the

promotion of a subtractive ideology in which students are indirectly pushed to leave behind the other languages that form their linguistic repertoire and embrace the national languages and English.

This reality in schools presents a rather monolingual picture, which, despite of European efforts to promote plurilingualism and current discourses of globalisation that conceptualize multilingualism as an asset, posits English still as the only resource that is legitimized and promoted in schools. Thus, a monolingual ideology dominates the classrooms while influencing the languaging (i.e., language choices) of multilingual children.

3.2.2. Language practices and linguistic legitimacy

The notion of legitimate language goes back to the work of Bourdieu (1977, 1991), who suggested that a legitimate language is uttered by a legitimate speaker, that is, the appropriate person, in a legitimate situation and on the appropriate market. A legitimate language is also "addressed to legitimate receivers; it is formulated in the legitimate phonological and syntactic forms (what linguists call grammaticalness), except when transgressing these norms is part of the legitimate definition of the legitimate producer" (Bourdieu 1977: 650). Thus, linguistic legitimacy does not only refer to a language, but also to a form of language or a language variety.

This notion of 'appropriateness' embedded in the concept of legitimacy influences language choice in multilingual communities, where multilingual speakers are made to choose the 'appropriate' language, form of language or language variety from their repertoire in a given situation. It is in these multilingual encounters where questions of legitimacy can be more easily observed. Heller (1995, 1996) initiates this discussion of linguistic legitimacy and language choice in her ethnography of a French-language minority high school in Ontario in a quest to understand "why some language is legitimate and some is not and what that means for the participants in the setting" (1996: 141). Reagan (2016:2) answers this question by talking about language superiority and linguistic prejudice and privilege: "The underlying assumption of the concept of language legitimacy is that particular languages, or language varieties, are in some sense superior to others". The criteria that establish a language as a superior language is based on prejudice.

One of the means in which linguistic prejudice is most dangerous in education is in the ways that linguistic diversity or a certain type of multilingualism has been used as a feature to

explain low school achievement. The link between multilingual speakers and the successful performance at school has been criticized in several sociolinguistic ethnographies in multilingual schools in different contexts (e.g., Martín Rojo 2010; Heller 1995). In this struggle, the appropriate language, and therefore the legitimate speaker, is generally the one that represents the dominant class in a particular context or the most powerful language in political, social or economic terms. This has much to do with the perpetuation of privilege of elite groups and is exercised in schools through symbolic domination (Heller 1995). Heller (1995: 373) conceptualizes symbolic domination following Bourdieu's work as "the ability of certain social groups to maintain control over others by establishing their view of reality and their cultural practices as the most valued and, perhaps more importantly, as the norm". This privilege, she goes on, has traditionally been attributed to a native monolingual elite, perhaps now being re-defined as multilingualism takes new discourses. Indeed, it is in some arenas a sign of cosmopolitanism and modernity, but it has to be noted that not every type of multilingualism is connoted in this way.

In this process of legitimization/marginalization of language(s) and groups, schools are seen as sites of social and cultural reproduction, because they value knowledge that is not universal but the privileged property of the dominant class:

> As a result, students who come to school already possessing that knowledge have a better chance of doing well at school than those who do not. However, to fulfill this function effectively, it is crucial that it be masked, that is, all participants must accept the basic, albeit false, assumption that schools really are meritocratic. (Heller and McLaughlin 2017: 88)

This situation is illustrated in Guy (2017) in the story of Darryl, a child in his class that was stigmatized because he was not speaking the standard variety. The question is why linguistic prejudice is an acceptable prejudice, while "in polite society, we don't allow jokes that we consider racist or sexist, and we are careful not to disparage a person's religious beliefs. Language is another matter" (Zuidema 2005: 686). In sum, linguistic prejudice and privilege is exercised through symbolic domination of the privileged classes and schools act as institutions of social and cultural reproduction that keep the already privileged in powerful positions (Heller 1996).

3.2.3. Language practices in school

Past research on multilingual settings reveal a privileged position for monolingual practices, but with globalization new practices are in place (e.g., Rampton 2006). In what follows I

examine what languages and forms of language are legitimized or deemed appropriate in schools, according to the literature.

3.2.3.1. Orienting towards monolingual practices and language separation

In the past, language has been theorized as a fixed set of rules, in part due to the influence of structural linguistics, led by Saussure and his theory of language as a system of signs and Chomsky's theories on Universal Grammar. This conceptualization/discourse of language has accompanied traditional SLA research and has led to the early theorization of bilingualism in monolingual terms (Garcia & Sylvan 2011): bilingual speakers have thus been considered users of two independent language systems, that is to say, "two monolinguals in one body" (Gravelle 1996: 11), and multilingualism has been conceptualized as "a set of paralell monolingualisms" (Heller 2006: 5).

These beliefs about language and bilingualism have led to the assumption that the best way to learn languages is in strict separation, and thus education policies have been built upon a "two solitudes assumption" (Cummins 2008: 65) leading to classroom practices that promote "bilingualism through monolingualism" (Swain 1983: 4) and separate bilingualism (Creese & Blackledge 2010; Blackledge & Creese 2010). As a result, what we get are FL classes where the use of the L1 is frowned upon, and bilingual or immersion programs where L1 and L2 mixing is sanctioned.

The following passage from Heller's (1995: 403) ethnography of a French-minority high school in Ontario shows this experience of learning languages in a context where French and English are languages in contact:

> It is about five minutes to nine in the morning, in a Grade 8 classroom. All the school buses have disgorged their students, and gone off to wherever school buses go between 8:45 in the morning and 3:15 in the afternoon. Students are milling around, joking, gossiping, and dissecting last night's episodes of their favorite television shows (all, of course, in English). They are settling in before the public address system goes on at 9:00 sharp. One boy goes up to the teacher and asks, Can I use the stapler, Monsieur? The teacher predictably responds, Parle français! The boy looks at the clock, turns back to his teacher and says, It's not nine o'clock yet, Monsieur! They shrug at each other and smile, and walk off to wait for the strains of the national anthem to signal the start of another day at school.

The experience of language separation is reported in many corners of the world, and as discussed in the previous section, it has been traced to the building of the nation state (Blommaert et al. 2012). Today, globalization has opened up new discourses and mainly a conceptualization of multilingualism that seems to be changing. These discourses and beliefs

about multilingualism have initiated the debate for the implementation of different language management (e.g., education programs/curriculums), but whether they have given legitimacy to a more multilingual or flexible use of language is an empirical question. Some researchers have already addressed this question in some types of schools, namely complementary schools in the UK (e.g., Blackledge & Creese 2010).

3.2.3.2. Orienting towards multilingual practices and hybridity

In light of current globalization practices, new discourses and conceptualizations of multilingualism have appeared that establish multilingualism as an asset. These new discourses are linked to new findings on the positive effect of multilingualism in cognitive development of bilingual children and evidence on the field of bilingualism (Baker 2011; García 2009a; Grosjean 2008, 2010) and neurolinguistics (Hoshino & Thierry 2011; Thierry & Wu 2007; Wu & Thierry 2010). These discourses have opened up a space for the legitimacy of new multilingual practices. These new research findings and perspectives may directly affect educational policies and transform or legitimize actual practices. The question remains of what and whose multilingual practices are actually legitimized.

The conceptualization of translanguaging is placed in the heart of this debate that questions language boundaries (e.g., Makoni & Pennycook 2007). In translanguaging, language is not conceptualised as a linguistic object, but a social construct (Otheguy, García & Reid 2015). Language, in this conceptualisation is just an object when is regarded as such by the speaker, for example, Spanish might be one thing for me and another thing for someone else. Instead of languages as objects, what we have is people languaging (i.e., using language) and what we language are features that can be assigned to externally defined categories such as Spanish or English. (To) language is regarded as a social and cognitive process (García & Li Wei 2014): "languaging is both a social process sensitive to environmental factors" (Canagarajah 2007: 94) and "a process of using language to gain knowledge, to make sense, to articulate one's thoughts and to communicate about using language" (Li Wei 2011: 1224). Thus, the interest is no longer in knowing "who speaks (or writes) what language (or what language variety) to whom, when and to what end", but "who languages how and what is being languaged under what circumstances in a particular place and time" (Juffermens 2011: 165).

Following these arguments, languages are categories that exist only in the outsider's point of view (Otheguy, García & Reid 2015) but not separate entities that exist in the speakers'

mind (Makoni & Pennycook 2007). The fact that we speak about languages as objects is just a convention, but not the reality of language itself. The (empirical) evidence that supports these arguments belongs to multilingual practices used by bilingual children (e.g., mixing languages, hybrid practices, creative use of language, etc.) and the conclusion is that bilingual children experience their language(s) as simultaneous: "there are no two languages that are cognitively activated or deactivated as the social and contextual situation demands" (García & Li Wei 2014: 15). Bilingual children can choose to stay in a monolingual mode, which often happens in certain very normative spaces (like schools). They can do this when they learn about categories and start assigning certain features to certain languages, as well as certain speakers to certain languages.

Taking this conceptualization of language, and in order to take account of translanguaging practices, which are considered as the norm in multilingual communities (García & Li Wei 2014), some scholars have come to question language separation in education:

> It is not at all obvious that if they were not politically prevented from doing so, 'languages' would not mix and dissolve into one another, but we understand almost nothing of such processes… Could it be that all our current pedagogical methods in fact make multilingual development more difficult than it need be, simply because we bow to dominant political and ideological pressures to keep 'languages' pure and separate? (Lemke 2002: 85)

Consequently, some researchers are suggesting to abandon old assumptions on language separation (Cummins 2008) and models of education based on subtractive or additive bilingualism (Baker 2011). Instead, they advocate for the incorporation of educational policies that embrace translanguaging as a legitimate and encouraging practice. This is the case of García and Kleifgen (2010) and García and Sylvan (2011) who propose a dynamic bi/plurilingual education model, or Blackledge and Creese (2010), who suggest a flexible bilingualism pedagogy. The main characteristic of these models is to consider the separation of languages as something artificial, and allow the use of different languages in the classrooms. Here, it is important to mention the origins of translanguaging in Welsh education (Lewis, Jones & Baker 2012a). In this bilingual region, schools were using a strategy of input-output language variation to acquire knowledge. For example, a text was read in Welsh and then summarized in English or viceversa. This is an interesting strategy for multilingual contexts from which other plurilingual models might depart, however, the separation of languages was still there in the origins of translanguaging in Welsh education. In the cited above models, researchers suggest to go beyond this separation. Such educational models embrace both flexible bilingualism pedagogies and encourage the legitimatization of

the L1 as a possible supportive device from which to build new knowledge. This is based on the principle that "[e]mergent bilinguals do not acquire a separate additional language, but develop and integrate new language practices into a complex dynamic repertoire in which translanguaging is both the supportive context and the communicative web itself" (García 2009b: n.p. in Garcia & Wei 2014: 66). How this can look in practice is explored in the analytical chapter that investigates classroom discourse (see chapter 7).

3.2.4. The study of language practices

In reviewing the legitimization of language practices in education, an empirical question is raised that is interested in exploring whether and how monolingual or multilingual practices are legitimized. For this, I turn to the concept of practiced language policy (Bonacina 2012) and follow the notion of 'medium' (Bonacina 2020: 437):

> This notion implies that talk is conducted in a medium, that is a 'code', rather than a language, and that this medium can either be monolingual or bilingual. This means that rather than investigating what language(s) are used in interaction, I try to discover what 'medium' participants actually orient to in interaction, whether it being made of monolingual or multilingual linguistic resources.

Bonacina's concept (2020) allows to explore language from an emic perspective and leave behind the concept of language that is here questioned as an empirical concept when trying to analyse the practices and not the ideological understanding of what is language as an object 'outside the speaker'.

3.2.4.1. A practiced language policy

The concept of practiced language policy (Bonacina 2012) comes from Spolsky's (2004) idea that there is a policy within practices and it is argued that this policy can grant legitimacy at the level of interaction (Bonacina 2020). The interest here is then in investigating how a practiced language policy is constructed at the level of interaction and how it legitimizes or delegitimizes certain language practices. I conceptualize 'practiced language policy' as "a set of interactional norms of language choice" (Bonacina 2020: 435) that speakers orient to in interaction in order to know what (medium) is appropriate in a particular language ecology. Below, I develop these two notions.

The medium of interaction

Multilingual practices have been studied from different perspectives capturing different dimensions of the lived experience of language of multilingual speakers. As mentioned in the theoretical framework, new trends in the study of multilingualism (e.g., Garcia & Li Wei

2014; Jorgensen 2008) point to a postsructuralist enquiry of language use. This entails the questioning of languages as fixed entities and points towards epistemologies that move beyond the notion of language(s) to conceptualize talk or the way we speak. The argument is that analytically, the concept of language as it has been used (mainly in CS studies) can only account partially for how multilingual practices work and it generally escapes an emic perspective on multilingualism. The point is that rather than orienting to a language, speakers orient to their own notion of code.

Gafaranga and Torras (2001) call this 'code' the medium of a bilingual conversation and argue that the notion of 'medium' can help to solve some of the problems that the use of the concept of language for empirical research in multilingualism cannot cover. Following Gafaranga (1998, 1999), they define the medium as "the actually oriented-to linguistic code" (Gafaranga & Torras 2001: 196) or what Alvarez-Cáccamo (1998) refers to as the 'communicative code'. They argue that bilingual speakers themselves perceive their talk to be conducted in a medium and not a language. Speakers can choose to use one language as the medium of their interactions or they can choose to use two or more languages. That is, they may orient to a monolingual medium or a bilingual/multilingual medium. For this, the analyst will not attend to a base language but to the medium, that is, "the scheme of interpretation, speakers themselves orient to while talking" (Gafaranga & Torras 2001: 215).

This concept, originally conceived to conceptualize bilingual talk in different contexts, has been expanded in Bonacina and Gafaranga (2011) to account for talk in classrooms and taken as 'the medium of classroom interaction'. Bonacina and Gafaranga (2011: 330-331) define it as "'the linguistic code' that classroom participants actually orient-to while talking, as opposed to the policy-prescribed medium of instruction". This concept can help to account for multilingual behaviour in multilingual schools and unpack the lived experience of multilingual children with monolingualism and multilingualism.

Interactional norms

Multilingual children in schools know what medium is appropriate because they have been able to interpret a set of interactional norms. The notion of norms in a practiced language policy approach (Bonacina 2012) is informed by the conceptualization that ethnomethodologists suggest of language norms. In these traditions, interactional norms are conceived as social norms. A social norm is a "scheme of interpretation" (Garfinkel 1967: 20).

One of the main assumptions followed by these traditions is that language choice is social action, that is, "any action which has been accomplished must be assumed to have been made possible by a specific and discoverable norm" (Gafaranga & Torras 2001: 198) and there is order in social action, that is, "social norms account for the orderliness of social life" (Gafaranga & Torras 2001: 198). Interactional norms are not necessarily formulated, but learnt through observation. From observation "speakers deduce a set of *implicit rules* from which they draw on to know what language (choice) act is appropriate or not in a given context" (Bonacina 2012: 217).

Thus, legitimacy is constructed under what becomes normal, routine and unmarked. "A practiced language policy consists therefore of these implicit and deducible rules of language choice from which speakers draw upon in interaction. Discovering a practiced language policy consists in making these implicit rules explicit" (Bonacina 2012: 218).

To conclude, this section has discussed linguistic legitimacy as a lens to look at language practices in school. I have reviewed here different orientations to language practices including new trends on multilingual practices such as translanguaging. Finally, I sketch a framework to analyse classroom talk based on Bonacina's (2012) concept of 'practiced language policy' to discover the orientation of children in school and to explore how they legitimize or de-legitimize certain practices.

3.3. Affect and emotion

This section opens up a window to think through the concepts of affect and emotion in order to theorise the lived experience of language of multilingual children and stresses the importance of developing pedagogies informed by emotion and affect studies (e.g., Boler 1999; Bucholtz, Casillas & Lee 2018; Dernikos et al. 2020; Hickey-Moody 2013).

These days, despite of the rising interest in affect studies in many disciplines, affect still remains the least known aspect of language learning and this is attributed to the "lack of a principled theory of affect, which is treated as an individual characteristic" (Pavlenko 2013: 7). In this section, I want to initiate discussions for the theorisation of affect for education.

In the following text, I first conceptualise affect and emotion as theorized in affect studies and then move its conceptualisation to education. I finish this section by reviewing studies on shame in education, as is the most salient affect appearing in my data.

3.3.1. Thinking through affect and emotion

3.3.1.1. Exploring affect studies

Discussions on affect move in different directions within disciplines, which makes its conceptualisation complex. In popular culture, many think of Goleman (1995) when talking about emotions and its popularized EQ or emotional intelligence model, which some researchers consider to be based on a framework of basic emotions (Boler 2018). This model and other frameworks that use basic emotions as categories that can be measured are criticized by scholars in affect studies because they treat emotions as discrete and decontextualized properties. Instead, scholarship on affect brings to the front line the experiential and the 'bodily' processes involved in understanding emotions (Ahmed 2010) (i.e., the sweatiness of the skin, the speed of a heartbeat). For affect studies the concept of 'body' is key, and I devote a section to disentangle its conceptualisation and pin it down for this research (see next section).

In affect studies, the aim is not to talk about the validity of a construct such as shame or anxiety, or to generalize results of a study on surveying and quantifying emotions as socially constructed categories, but the intention is to explore the experience of individuals and its transformative value. Then, a qualitative enquiry of affect and emotion focuses on its potential to bring change and transformation. The main point is that no one experiences 'bodies' in the same way, and the value is that our affective responses and those of others can tell us something about the lived experience of subjects and its individual trajectory (Busch 2012).

Some researchers trace back affect theory to Silvan Tomkins, an American clinical psychologist (e.g., Probyn 2004). In his work, Tomkins (e.g., 1984) considered affect as biological. He defined nine primary affects: interest, enjoyment, surprise, fear, anger, distress, shame, contempt and disgust. These affects can be identified by "distinct *sets* of facial, vocal, respiratory, skin, and muscle responses" that can be patterned through "brain stimulation with moving and thermographic pictures of the face" (Tomkins 1995: 58). Other researchers jump directly to the 1990s when tracing the origin of affect studies. The beginning is linked here to what was called the affective turn in humanities and social research (e.g., Bucholtz, Casillas & Lee 2018). This turn calls for greater consideration of the emotional and embodied dimensions of human experience in social research (Gregg & Seigworth 2010). Some say that the affective turn in part builds on feminist research that

had its surge in the 1980s and that "have long attended to the importance of bodies, corporeality, and embodiment" (Dernikos et al. 2020: 19), while others claim that it is a move further from the social constructionism viewpoint that was the core of that research (Boler 2018). Both positions on the origins of affect studies have actually important ontological and epistemological consequences for its conceptualisation. For example, there is a group or strand of scholars led by Massumi's work (2002) that devaluate the work on the concept of emotion as they try to move away from social constructionism and privilege the study of affect as distinct. These scholars consider emotion as the social expression of affect (Probyn 2004). This creates a situation in which researchers need to mark whether they are working on *affect* or *emotion* and in the importance of conceptualising the two. On the contrary, those who want to separate themselves from affect studies in Massumi's view, and take in the concept of emotion in their research, usually use 'the affective turn' as the origins of their conceptualisation of affect and emotion.

The convergence of this debate is seen in Sara Ahmed's work (2004), which explores both emotions and affect. Ahmed's position does not move away from social constructionism, but moves beyond the fixed categorizations of emotional responses that develop simple basic emotion models as well as moving beyond theories of affect that conceptualise bodily responses as innate and locate them in the brain. In this thesis, I also refer to both emotions and affect and I explore Ahmed's work in detail in the next sections.

3.3.1.2. 'The body' in affect theory

In spite of the debate around its genesis and the existences of slightly different strands or directions in research, it is clear that what researchers on affect have in common is their special attention to the body, which was disregarded in previous studies on emotions that are highlighting the social construction of such categories instead. The concept of body in affect studies is often defined following the philosophical work of Deleuze (1992) who points to Spinoza's conception of body. The body is not necessarily human, some say, (e.g., Hickey-Moody 2013) and it is not defined as a monolithic entity (e.g., Probyn 2004) but in terms of its capacities: "a body affects other bodies, or is affected by other bodies; it is this capacity for affecting and being affected that also defines a body in its individuality" (Deleuze 1992: 625). In this sense, we could talk of a classroom as a body that is not necessarily human, as there are different elements that interact in that space (Probyn 2004). These capacities are changing constantly: "A body's ability to affect or be affected – its charge of affect – isn't something fixed" (Massumi 2015: 4). These capacities or this charge of affect has a lot to do

with what is assembled in an affective episode. The body "is a degree of power held within any given assemblage or 'mixture'. Affects extend or decrease the limits of what a 'body' – or a *given assemblage or mixture* – can do" (Hikey-Moody 2013: 80).

To go back to the example of the classroom as a body, Probyn (2004) applies the concept of body and assemblage to the classroom following Deleuze's (1992) idea that you do not know in advance what a body can do in an encounter, arrangement or given combination:

> How better to explain that always quirky, always unknowable combination that is the classroom? Why is it, we ask either in elation or depression, that the same material will work so differently in different situations? The magic or chemistry that seems so elusive to any systematization may well be the necessary result of the moving arrangement of particles, histories and affects that are the bodies of teaching and learning. (Probyn 2004: 37)

To sum up this section, the body (human or non-human) is at the centre of affect theory and it is defined in terms of its capacities to affect or be affected in a given assemblage or entanglement. The conceptualisation of 'body' in affect studies goes beyond this short introduction, however, this acts as an initial discussion that leads into the conceptualisation of affect that I use in this thesis.

3.3.1.3. Conceptualising affect

Affect emerges within encounters and describes the change or transformations that occur when bodies make contact with one another (Dernikos et al. 2020). To describe affect scholars talk about "a hunch", "a visceral prompt" (Hickey-Moody 2013: 79) or a "'bodily' impulse or sensation" (Dernikos et al. 2020: 6). These sensations, also called forces, intensities, energies, or flows, are the ones that "register on/with-in/across bodies to produce and shape personal/emotional experiences" (Dernikos et al. 2020: 5) and it is these visceral forces, "beneath, alongside, or generally other than conscious knowing", that "can serve to drive us toward movement" (Gregg & Seigworth 2010: 1). In other words, there is something visceral about affect that moves us (in the inside and in the outside). It seems that it is this movement that can be actually empirically enquired and then theorised through affective thinking.

These visceral forces, used to conceptualise affect and that drive us to movement, are here easier to envision following Wetherell's (2012) conception of affect as physical disturbance, that is, as bodily reaction or activity (e.g., blushes, sobs, snarls, guffaws, levels of arousal and associated patterns of neural activity). In her conceptualisation of affect, Wetherell highlights physical reactions like the sweatiness of skin, or the increasing pulse rate, or the

lump in the throat, as affective practices and she brings tools from discourse studies to interpret such an event. She describes an affective practice as "a figuration where body possibilities and routines become recruited or entangled together with meaning-making and with other social and material figurations." (Wetherell 2012: 19). In these complex entanglement "all parts relationally constitute each other" (Wetherell 2012: 19).

Such an analysis is better understood when thinking of the feature of assemblages or entanglements that make up affective episodes. From the point of view of affective practices (as in Wetherell 2012: 15), the interest resides in "investigating the range and entire patterning of affective assemblages operating in important scenes in everyday life along with their social consequences and entailments". In this investigation, affect and discourse intertwine, but the "discursive elements may move in and out of prominence as the flow of practice plays out. Sometimes they are very dominant and sometimes more peripheral." (Wetherell 2012: 52).

For Ahmed (2010: 29), affect "is what sticks, or what sustains or preserves the connection between ideas, values, and objects". In Ahmed's work (2010: 29) 'happy objects' she develops a framework to reflect on happiness as "involving affect (to be happy is to be affected by something), intentionality (to be happy is to be happy about something), and evaluation or judgment (to be happy about something makes something good)." Ahmed (2010) further argues that there are some objects that accumulate positive affective value that then circulate as social goods. It is affect that makes these ideas, values and objects happy objects. In the analysis section that explores affect, taking languages as (ideological) constructs, I talk about languages as objects, perhaps happy objects or perhaps shameful ones. This may depend on "the experiential, the unfolding of bodies into worlds, and the drama of contingency, how we are touched by what we are near" (Ahmed 2010: 30). In this way, in this thesis, I explore language both as practice (in chapter 7) and as a construct (in chapter 8), but always from taking the subject perspective as a starting point. That is, when I talk about language as a construct I take the ideological construction that the subject takes for granted guided by their experiences.

In the next section, I include the concept of feelings that needs to be linked and disentangled from that of emotions and affect. The relationship of the three concepts is necessary to understand discussions on affect and the analysis performed here.

3.3.1.4. Related concepts: feelings, emotions and affect

In affect studies, feelings, emotions and affect are conceptualised to belong to different orders (Massumi 2015). Affect is conceptualised as "the embodied state and the initial registering of events in bodies and minds" (Wetherell, Smith & Campbell 2018: 1); emotions as "the processing and packaging of affect in familiar cultural categories such as anger, grief, schadenfreude, etc." (Wetherell, Smith & Campbell 2018: 1); and feelings as "qualia and the subjective phenomenological experience" (Wetherell, Smith & Campbell 2018: 1).

However, separating these concepts in research is like separating the yolk and the white of an egg (Ahmed 2004), it could be done, but they are different sides of experience necessary to understand the whole. Affect and emotion touch each other: Emotions "involve bodily processes of affecting and being affected" (Ahmed 2004: 208) and "who could even think of feeling without also recalling physical impressions: the sweatiness of the skin, the hair rising; or the sound of one's heartbeat getting louder?" (Ahmed 2004: 209). Feelings and the subjective related to the phenomenological experience are necessary to understand affect and emotions too, since affect and emotions "involve the subject, as well as histories that come before the subject" (Ahmed 2004: 209).

3.3.1.5. Concluding remarks

To sum up, I understand affect as a visceral prompt (Hickey-Moody 2013) and embodied meaning-making (Wetherell 2012). Affect is something 'sticky', that is, it connects ideas, values and objects (Ahmed 2010). Affect can serve to drive us toward movement (Gregg & Seigworth 2010). Affect is an orientation to something that moves us (towards it or away from it) and it is manifested in bodily responses (more or less intense). It is this bodily responses that I take as the smaller units of analysis (Wetherell 2012). In the intensity of these responses there are implicit judgements about the world that rule our behaviours and future directions, for the interpretation of these judgements it is necessary to include emotion and feelings in the study of affect as understood here.

3.3.2. Affect in education: the case of shame

3.3.2.1. Conceptualising affect in education

Affect is moved to education both in the lived experience of school members and in pedagogical discussions. Deleuze and Guattari (1987) and Deleuze (2003), work that builds on Spinoza's *Ethics*, have become cornerstones in this discussion (Hickey-Moody 2013).

Seigworth (in Dernikos et al. 2020: 87) argues that "[a]ffect and pedagogy are inextricably inseparable".

Some scholars on affect and education invite us to think of pedagogy through affect (e.g., Boler 1999; Bucholtz, Casillas & Lee 2018; Dernikos et al. 2020; Hickey-Moody 2013; Zembylas & McGlynn 2012). Hickey-Moody (2013: 92), for example, talks about affective pedagogy, referring to teaching art in education: "Affective pedagogy mobilises the idea of a being of sensation to interrogate the nature of affective forces produced by art". Boler (1999: 5) addresses emotion in education, taking a more social constructionist approach, and aims to understand the conception of emotion that underlies educational agendas. She understands affect "as mediated by ideologies and capitalist values and its entailed gendered forms". In Boler (1999), *Feeling power*, she works on a theory of emotions and education that starts from an examination of power relations, that is, "how structures and experience of race, class, and gender, for example, are shaped by the social control of emotion, and how political movements have resisted injustice by drawing on the power of emotions" (Boler 1999: 5). Boler draws on discourse as an object of study to talk about emotion, a perspective that would be contested by some affect scholars as discussed in the previous section, but that brings an interesting contribution to the field of emotion in education and the topic of power and social justice. Her contribution ends with a suggestion of bringing about a pedagogy of discomfort that invites "educators and students to engage in critical inquiry regarding values and cherished beliefs, and to examine constructed self-images in relation to how one has learned to perceive others" (Boler 1999: 176). The focus of such a pedagogy of discomfort lies on recognizing "how emotions define how and what one chooses to see, and conversely, not to see" (Boler 1999: 176).

A similar idea seems to be taken up in Bucholtz, Casillas and Lee (2018) *Feeling it* which is a volume that recovers the experiences of teaching the SKILLS program (The School Kids Investigating Language in Life and Society). This brings together racialization and affect through the concept of affective agency, that is "the interactional experience of moving and being moved" (Bucholtz, Casillas & Lee 2018: 4) distinct from psychology-centred theories of students' motivation or pedagogies that focus on emotional intelligence. In their point of view, young people do not need to be instructed on how they feel focusing on expressions of emotion, as they already know how they feel. The teacher's job should be building "ethically and responsibly on those emotional experiences as a resource for socially transformative learning" (Bucholtz, Casillas & Lee 2018: 5).

The SKILLS program brings opportunities for youth of colour to explore the nexus between language and race and bring awareness of their affects and feelings. Similarly, Dernikos et al. (2020: 3) group so-called scratches of experiences that map affect in education in the form of "affective scratchings", which they define as "sounds that triggered uncontrollable visceral responses, sounds that would later wash over us, individually and collectively, again and again and again". Dernikos et al. (2020: 4) talk, for example, of the scratching of chalk and invites us "to feel education".

> —scratch—
>
> Something is in the air in schools. It is hard to describe yet presses on you. Heavy, an invisible blanket you can't shake off. You can't touch it, but you know it is there. (Dernikos et al. 2020: 16)

As different as these projects are in their conceptualisation of affect and emotion, they all focus on awareness and change and use the transformational value of affect in teaching and learning for social justice. Some claim that affect is the basis of social justice in educational settings where children (or adults) come together with specific subject positions and life experiences. However, they warn that the presence or absence of emotions does not guarantee justice, but it can be "a significant component in the production or prevention of greater justice" (Zembylas & McGlynn 2012: 43).

Zembylas and McGlynn (2012) remind us of the notion of social norms and its implications in emotional responses. In order to challenge deeply entrenched social norms they argue for the need to change our emotional relationship to them, that is taking awareness of these norms and their gain or loss. In multilingual schools, this calls for an enquiry of the monolingual habitus that has long been attributed to school systems in Europe (Gogolin 1997). Gogolin (1997: 41) argues that teachers in European schools operate under what she calls the monolingual habitus, that is, "the deep-seated habit of assuming monolingualism as the norm in a nation" and that thus teaching is based on the false assumption that we are teaching an homogeneous group of students: "To be more precise, the teaching relies on the assumption that the children all grow up within the bounds of the same social class, culture or ethnic group and language" (Gogolin, 1997: 40).

The monolingual habitus describes patterns that orient towards monolingualism and "governs the language-directed perceptions, attitudes and activities of the teachers." (Gogolin 1997:41). This is typically so in mother tongue teaching, but Gogolin (1997) suggests that such a habitus is probably characteristic of multilingual contexts, too. The

question for her is, then, how the monolingual habitus, a constitutive feature of the state school system, makes the learning of languages in a multilingual classroom (and society) more difficult and unequal by acknowledging that multilinguals have a different 'feel' for languages.

The habitus of schools and the different entanglements that occur in these spaces can be considered through the notion of affective atmospheres (Sumartojo & Pink 2018). The term that emerges from the field of cultural geography brings up new ways of thinking about the relationships between people, space, time and events and the sensory and affective modes through which we engage with these. The concept is crucial to understand places and events, "as affecting how we feel about the people who accompany us or who we encounter, and as something that lingers in our memory when we recall past experiences" (Sumartojo & Pink 2018: 2). For them, atmosphere is "emerging ongoingly from our everyday worlds and as very much a part of how we constantly encounter and make sense of our surroundings, what we do in them and with whom and how we ascribe value and meaning to this" (Sumartojo & Pink 2018: 3). The consideration of the classroom as an affective atmosphere can bring new understandings to the lived experience of language at school.

In accounts of situations of the lived experience of language, a range of different feelings are mentioned including joy, pride, shame, anger, or fear (Busch 2017). In this section I chose to review the affect of shame because it stands out in my data and it is the most discomforting affect to students. In selecting a discomforting experience I follow Boler (1999) and her idea of a pedagogy of discomfort, however I want to acknowledge that there are other so-called positive affects in my data, for example, the affect of desire to learn English for a better future, similarly to Motha and Lin (2014), is also present in my data moving bodies towards the language and provoking enjoyment. However, the positive – negative evaluation of affects is here also put into question as some scholars raise up the transformational value of shame and, thus, I argue it can be seen as a necessary (and thus, positive) affect in the process of becoming multilingual (e.g., Boler 1999). Liyanage and Canagarajah (2019: 433) call for an examination of the context to understand affective responses to languages or language learning itself and its evaluation of positive and negative affects:

> At a time when English is uncritically and universally treated as desirable, it is significant that it evokes shame in some communities. In one sense, it is possible to treat shame as lying on the opposite end of the emotional spectrum—that is, if one

> doesn't desire English, he or she might be ashamed of it. However, that is too simple an understanding of shame. Shame is not simply the negative or "other" of desire.

In the following sections, I review how shame has been conceptualised in the literature and how it is reported in accounts of the lived experience of language of students and teachers in relation to multilingualism.

3.3.2.2. Conceptualising shame

Shame was initially defined as a negative affect and categorized as one of the nine innate affects, i.e., interest, enjoyment, surprise, fear, anger, distress, shame, contempt, and disgust (Tomkins 1984). However, in later discussions, shame, contempt and disgust start to be conceptualised not just as innate in the same ways as the other affects. For Tomkins (1995: 84), they have some properties similar to other affects, but also different characteristics and mechanisms:

> Just as contempt and disgust are drive auxiliary acts, I posit shame as an innate affect auxiliary response and a specific inhibitor of continuing interest and enjoyment. Like disgust, it operates only after interest or enjoyment has been activated and inhibits one or the other or both. The innate activator of shame is the incomplete reduction of interest or joy.

In other words, shame is experienced when a positive affect is interrupted, that is when you feel good (excited or joyful) but something gets in the way. That is, shame only occurs when enjoyment or interest was first activated. As the physical response for shame, Tomkins (1995: 84-85) talks about "lowering the eyelid, lowering the tonus of all facial muscles, lowering the head via a reduction in tonus of the neck muscles, and a unilateral tilting of the head in one direction". In this response, shyness, shame, and guilt could be seen as identical affects, however, in the experiential they are different: "Shyness is about strangeness of the other; guilt is about moral transgression; shame is about inferiority" (Tomkins 1995: 85). That is, even if the physical responses might be identical, Tomkins (1995: 85) argues, "the coassembled perceptions, cognitions, and intentions may be vastly different". Shame is defined as "I want… but" (Tomkins 1995: 406), that is, you cannot feel ashamed if you do not find "the other exciting or lovable or enjoyable in some way and you want to maintain that bond" (Tomkins 1995: 392).

Sara Ahmed (2004: 103) defines shame as "an intense and painful sensation that is bound up with how the self feels about itself, a self-feeling that is felt by and on the body". For Ahmed, a person feels shame when they feel that they have done something bad and shame "impresses upon the skin, as an intense feeling of the subject 'being against itself'" (Ahmed

2004: 103). This feeling is taken as a sign of failure and it is usually experienced before another: "In shame, more than my action is at stake: *the badness of an action is transferred to me,* such that I feel myself to be bad and to have been 'found' or 'found out' as bad by others" (Ahmed 2004: 105).

This can be related to social norms in the literature through the notion of habitus. That is the case, because shame (and other affects) can function as mechanisms for shaping collectives (Ahmed 2004): "keeping people within familiar routines, discouraging transgressions and reinforcing established patterns and inequities" (Wetherell 2013a: 234). According to this view, the experience of shame could serve schools to keep the monolingual norm, that is when shame is experienced, for example, while speaking a home language, speaking a foreign language with a non-standard accent or when translanguaging (i.e., using different languages). In this view, experiencing shame could be mediated by monolingual ideologies in schools and contribute to reinforcing the monolingual habitus.

In sum, we could consider the experience of shame as a kind of moment of awareness, when a feel good experience is interrupted, triggered by the violation of a norm. The bodily responses of shame can be varied, and I will explore this as affective practices in the analysis.

3.3.2.3. Experiencing shame in education: language learning

In the review of the qualitative study of shame related to multilingualism, Liyanage and Canagarajah (2019) distinguish between studies of shame experienced when using home languages and shame related to learning and using a foreign language. One of the most important outcomes of existing studies in the field of foreign language learning (mostly English), is that shame affects the willingness to communicate in the target language (WTC) (see, Liyanage & Canagarajah 2019). In this regard, in times when communicative language teaching is a goal of language education, the experience of shame is a 'problem'. We could extend this to the use of home languages, that is, the experience of shame when using the home language in school would prevent the WTC in the home language when in school. However, this is not yet perceived as a problem in the same way as it is in the case of English.

In what follows, I talk about languages as constructs (i.e. constructed by the subject). By considering languages as objects in this section, I acknowledge their ideological conceptualisation and follow Sara Ahmed's (2010) argument that we move towards and away of languages depending on how we are affected by them. In this movement, children also affect languages while ideas and values circulate and 'stick'. In this sense, the study of

affect (and here shame) in relation to both home languages and foreign languages are relevant when talking about the inclusion of multilingualism in school, and more specifically in the language class (be it mother tongue teaching or foreign language teaching). In the classroom, examples of feelings of shame can arise when a pupil uses a 'wrong' word, tone or speaks with an accent that does not fit the majority. This experience "is often described as feeling as though everyone is looking at you, or wishing the earth would swallow you up" (Busch 2017: 353). This experience of shame comes suddenly and it is felt bodily intensely: "It results in a kind of paralysis, an abrupt suspension of the capacity to act" (Busch 2017: 353).

Accounts of shame in relation to the use of home languages are often related to the experience of migration (e.g., Busch 2017). Studies in this line of inquiry could be related to Liyanage and Canagarajah's (2019) conceptualisation of linguistic shame as embarrassment in using one's first language, which is "caused in most cases by the valorization of and desire for a more powerful L2 that is disempowering to multilinguals" (p. 434). This type of shame also relates to the account of shame and struggle reported in earlier studies in minority education (Skutnabb-Kangas & Cummins 1988: 164):

> When the idea had eaten itself deeply enough into my soul that it was despicable to be a Finn, I began to feel ashamed of my origins. Since going back was out of the question and the thought of going back was what had sustained me there was nothing else for me but to surrender. To survive, I had to change my stripes. Thus: to hell with Finland and the Finns! All of a sudden, I was overwhelmed by a desire to shed my skin and smash my face. That which could not be accepted had to be denied, hidden, crushed and thrown away. A Swede was what I had to become, and that meant I could not continue to be a Finn.

This experience of shame is also reported in studies of young Albanian immigrants in Greece (Chatzidaki & Maligkoudi 2012), with Quechua speakers in Peru (Coronel-Molina 1999) or Navajo language users in Arizona, US (McCarty, RomeroLittle & Zepeda 2006). In these studies, young participants hide their knowledge or their home language because it stigmatizes them and results into internal struggle, similar to the experience reported in Skutnabb-Kangas and Cummins (1988: 164):

> Everything I had held dear and self-evident had to be destroyed. An inner struggle began, a state of crisis of long duration. I had trouble sleeping, I could not look people in the eye, my voice broke down into a whisper, I could no longer trust anybody.

This experience is here in part mediated by ideologies and a similar experience is reported in my data, in discourses about 'roots' that are followed by a desire for 'change' that result in the silencing of one part of the (multilingual) self (see chapter 6).

In the previous account, Skutnabb-Kangas and Cummins (1988) tell us how feelings of shame result in silence and hiding the home languages. In other studies of displacement, shame is triggered by the violation of a norm:

> We are ashamed about transgressing or disregarding a norm, standard, or ideal; we feel shame before others, or, having assimilated the norms, we feel shame before ourselves. The term 'norm' makes it clear that the definition of things that cause shame is not universal, but is a product of history and society (Busch 2017: 353)

In this account, affect is mediated by ideologies in the same way as in the linguistic shame or embarrassment related to speaking a foreign language. Liyanage and Canagarajah (2019: 434) refer to the shame one feels when using a powerful second language as attached to "students' fear of judgement, generally motivated by perceptions of falling short of standards or expectations of native speakers and others with superior proficiency". While in the case of migration and mother tongue, the ideology mediating affective responses of shame could be related to monoglossic discourses and the monolingual habitus of European school system, in the foreign language experience, most commonly in the case of English, standard language ideologies and native-speaker ideology seems to be mediating experiences of shame. The example of *junuk*, in Korea, is very telling of this experience (Park 2015), and refers to the anxiety of Korean users of English and teachers of English (Song & Park 2019) when using the language.

Park (2012, 2015) discusses how 'the English frenzy' experienced in Korea reproduces ideologies that gives authority to standard English over other varieties and how the ideal kind of speaker is conceptualised as the native speaker "imagined in terms of class, race and national origin" (Park 2015: 62). These ideologies are not the only force pushing the unequal experience of Koreans with English, but he says, these ideologies are "always mediated by subjective reactions that colour such material and ideological constraints with feelings of anxiety, frustration, and uneasiness" (Park 2015: 62). This invokes the feeling of *junuk*: "The term junuk refers to a feeling of inadequacy, as in when one stands before a powerful figure and feels completely helpless and feeble, subsumed by a strong sense of inferiority" (Park 2012: 215). In other words, the authority of English and the native speaker, positions Korean speakers of English as inferior and illegitimate and this is manifested with bodily responses

"such as palpitations, sweating, or sudden loss of words, invoking emotions of fear, shame, and frustration" (Song & Park 2019: 255). This anxious feeling is seen as driving the English frenzy. The experience of *Junuk* is discussed in reports, jokes, accounts and complaints that portray how Koreans are invaded with anxiety when talking in English and freeze in front of a Westerner as they struggle to find the English words to communicate (Park 2015: 63).

Park (2015: 70) further argues that conceptualizations of English in Korea demonstrate that affect, emotion and sentiment are dimensions that are strongly linked to the material and ideological conditions that support unequal Englishes. *Junuk* is not simply "a psychological manifestation of incomplete mastery of the language" but it is an aspect of identity and found within relations of power. In all, he reclaims the hidden role of subjectivity in the reproduction of unequal social relations and suggests that in a move to overcome inequalities, the step is towards making feelings a subject of metalinguistic awareness and bring to the surface the interconnections between multiple manifestations of subjectivity, considering how these emerge across important historical and political moments. This is further illustrated in his paper with Song on teachers' emotions (Song & Park 2019), which demonstrates the relationship between experienced anxiety with the cultural, discursive and historical language ideology of native-speakerism "in which a racially imagined figure of the native speaker, associated with English-speaking countries of the West, is seen as the ultimate source of legitimate and authoritative ways of using English" (Song & Park 2019: 255). This, marginalises NNESTs' (Non-Native English Speaking Teachers) professional status, regardless of content knowledge or teaching skills. This is further reinforced by the ideology of necessitation, "in which English is presented as a necessary language for survival in the context of globalisation" (Song & Park 2019: 255).

The authors emphasize the link between ideologies and emotions by arguing that those ideologies are located in shared affective and subjective positions (Song & Park 2019), and it is these emotions that "naturalise those ideologies of language, justifying the neoliberal valorisation of English as a language that requires constant investment so that one can overcome one's inadequacy as a non-native speaker and demonstrate one's careful management of the self". (Song & Park 2019: 255).

In post-colonial contexts, like Kiribati, there are different experiences of shame related to English (Liyanage & Canagarajah 2019). At one level "shame derives from adopting an alienating identity through the use of a foreign language" (Liyanage & Canagarajah 2019: 435), as people are said to sound pretentious when using a more powerful language in their

local communities. And at another level, shame is experienced by those that have abandoned their heritage language in the face of the more dominant language. Thus, we have "shame of projecting an out-group identity in violation of local solidarity and shame of abandoning the heritage language for gaining a powerful new language" (Liyanage & Canagarajah 2019: 436).

Shame was also somehow related to CS and translanguaging in the past in the contexts of schools. However, more recently studies on emotion and cognition, often promote translanguaging in contexts of linguistic diversity as it is said to develop positive emotions in emergent multilingual language learners (e.g., Back, Han & Weng 2020; Poza 2016). These studies however, reinforce the ideology of multilinguals as deficient or partial speakers of the language by conceptualising translanguaging as scaffolding. In this contexts, then, translanguaging ends up often being seen as a lazy or careless feature of a multilingual speaker (Noguerón-Liu & Warrine 2014: 192). Used by teachers, translanguaging also triggers shame in discourses of failure, as it is seen to index low proficiency or the failure to stick to the policy of one-language only (Martínez, Hikida & Durán 2014). In classrooms where participants are not emergent bilinguals, but consolidated bilinguals, translanguaging is often experienced as confusion, arguing that the child gets confused because she speaks too many languages and this is often experienced as linguistic shame (Lewis, Jones & Baker 2012). All these experiences of shame are mediated by the ideology of multilingualism as a problem and monoglossic ideologies. However, translanguaging is not only used by emergent multilinguals, just as a scaffold of language learning and it is not a result of getting confused, it is often just how multilingual speakers use all their repertoire, that is, it is how they speak (Garcia & Li Wei 2014).

The shame that is triggered by translanguaging in these sense is clearly structural, as Park (2015) would argue, based on monoglossic ideologies, in which the monolingual mode is yet the desired one. Yet another view of translanguaging in the global era is inspiring pride as it indexes a global identity (Li Wei 2011; Rampton 2006). This is often related to the conceptualisation of the neoliberal subject linked to efficiency (Kubota 2014; Del Percio & Flubacher 2017).

3.3.3. Conclusion

ELT needs a theory of affect and emotion to conceptualise the lived experience of children at school (Pavlenko 2013) and explore new ways of promoting equality in multilingual

education (Zembylas & McGlynn 2012). Here I have conceptualised affect and emotion as two sides of experience that I do not necessarily study them in separation, following Ahmed (2004). Affect is conceptualised here as a visceral force (Gregg & Seigworth 2010) that manifests itself in physical responses that are referred to as affective practices (Wetherell 2012). In the analytical chapter I use two affective practices, laughter and foot shaking, that when experienced as intensity (Massumi 2015) can be useful to discuss experiences of shame at school. Shame in education has been studied as mediated by ideologies. Shame in relation to the use of a home language in school is often related to monolingual ideologies that position the monolingual speaker as an ideal speaker. Shame in relation to the use of a foreign language is related to the authority of a standard ideology that positions the native speaker as an ideal speaker. In these contexts, speakers of languages other than the dominant one, and varieties of a language (like varieties of English) are stigmatized, while affective experiences move children away or towards certain languages and ways of speaking. Affect and emotion here is more than a situated practice, as it hides cultural and historical traces of monolingualism: "Through emotions, the past persists on the surface of bodies. Emotions show us how histories stay alive, even when they are not consciously remembered" (Ahmed 2004: 202). Shame and other multilingual discomfort that might be experienced in the classrooms are forms of linguistic violence that have the potential to reproduce and keep collectives within the same norm and thus reinforce the monolingual habitus that has been long battled in sociolinguistic studies aiming to implement equality in language learning. I argue here that a turn to affect can give an explanation of why this is still not changing and here I refer to Park (2015) and Song and Park (2019) in that affect understood as agency can be the key for change. "The time of emotion is not always about the past, and how it sticks. Emotions also open up futures, in the ways they involve different orientations to others" (Ahmed 2004: 202).

4. Methodology

> There are these two young fish swimming along, and they happen to meet an older fish swimming the other way, who nods at them and says, "Morning, boys, how's the water?" And the two young fish swim on for a bit, and then eventually one of them looks over at the other and goes, "What the hell is water?" (Wallace 2009: 1).

In this chapter, I develop the research methodology that guides this study. Through the sections below, I guide the reader through the ethnographic journey that made possible to answer the research questions defined in the first chapter. It is important to mention, that school A is only briefly described here as well as the participants, because chapter 5 provides a thick description of the setting and the voices of the study. I start the chapter with Wallace's quote above, which made me think about the ethnographic position that is taken in this thesis while theorizing the lived experience of language of multilingual children.

4.1. Introduction

This thesis takes an ethnographic stance. It is interested in what is hidden in the ways in which individuals and groups interact and organise social relationships. It is in this close examination of these social processes, that social structures, which are often taken for granted, can be understood. It is then, that unconscious habits are brought to the surface and power and inequality become clear. Like in the opening quote, in this thesis I ask young children questions related to 'what is language?' and try to uncover social processes that structure our classroom cultures and elucidate inequalities surrounding issues related to language.

It is an ethnography of a multilingual school in the Balearic Islands (Spain) where I conducted fieldwork for short and repeated periods of time between 2016 and 2018. The main interest of my research is on multilingualism and the focus is on multiple layers of the linguistic repertoire of multilingual children with migrant background. For the purpose of this research, I spent long periods of time with my informants, observing their interactions through their journey in primary school, while they moved from Y4 to Y6 (from 10 to 12 years old). During my stays, I used several instruments to know more about the children's stories, how they thought about language(s), how they used their linguistic repertoire and how they felt and were affected by language(s).

In this chapter, I will guide you through the methodological decisions and challenges that were faced during the process. I will first delve into a reflection into the use of ethnography

for applied linguistics research, to expose the stance taken in this thesis, since the popularity and spread of ethnographic work into different fields in humanities research have sometimes resulted in different ontological and epistemological orientations when doing ethnography. I continue by taking a look at how I chose the setting, gained access and introduce the voices of the ethnography. I describe how I organized my fieldwork in six phases in which intense contact with informants took place and during which several instruments were used. I finish with the ethical concerns that guide research practice and the steps taken in this thesis to ensure the safety and anonymity of the participants. I close the chapter with a section on reflexivity in which I talk about the researcher's positionality in accord with the ethnographic position that guides the study.

4.2. A note on the ethnographic stance

This thesis builds on studies that take an ethnographic approach to study wider social processes through the study of interaction and social relationships in schools. It is informed by Heller's studies (1994, 1999) in French minority language schools in Canada; Woolard's accounts of the use of Catalan and Spanish in Catalonia (1989, 2016); and Rampton (2006), in his work with teenage classrooms in urban schools in London. Of particular relevance to me is the work by Martín Rojo (2010) and her collection of ethnographies in different multilingual and multicultural schools in Madrid (Spain), and this study is specifically influenced by the work of Patiño and the voices from the classroom generated in her ethnographies of schools in Madrid (2007; 2011). Similarly, I take ideas from longitudinal studies (e.g., Smit 2010) that take an approach in which an ethnographic picture is used to set the scene into school cultures. I take situated practices as well as particular cases as units of analysis, the argument being that "social processes don't happen up in the sky somewhere: they happen on the ground in real life, and that is where we have to look if we want to understand them" (Heller 2006).

I understand ethnography both as ontology, epistemology and methodology and borrow guidelines from anthropology. Ethnography is here "the art and science of describing a group or culture" (Fetterman 1998:1) that by conducting participant observation, that is, "watching what happens, listening to what is said, and/or asking questions through informal and formal interviews, collecting documents and artefacts" (Hammersley & Atkinson 2007: 3), aims at "understanding and theorizing the meaning of lived experience (…) in turn to prepare the ground for social criticism." (Trondman, Willis, & Lund 2018: 31).

Epistemologically, ethnography focuses on ways of living of social groups by studying their behaviours in naturally occurring settings. Here, these naturally occurring settings are schools. "Ethnography is a methodology which entails "being there" as an ethnographer in "the field" among "the people" under study." (Trondman, Willis, & Lund 2018: 51). The understanding of the ways of living is only possible when long term engagement with the site and the use of multiple methods is an option, since the aim is to generate rich and thick data. Ethnographers are skilful field-note takers, and record what is going on in the field in rich detailed observations sometimes presented in vignette formats. Vignettes can be used to introduce the reader in the scene or as units of analysis (e.g., Creese & Takhi 2017).

A final point that is distinct to ethnographic research is reflexivity. This is often used in the methodological design to prove the scientific standards of the methodology, in the light of past criticism of such methods. This is done in the way that trustworthiness is a necessary component of good qualitative research and perhaps equivalent to what validity and reliability do for quantitative research.

4.3. Entering the field

4.3.1. Choosing the setting

The space informing this study is a multilingual (and multicultural) state-funded primary education school, located in one of the main cities on a small island of the Balearic Archipelago. This school is very often framed as unpopular and problematic, which is usually related to the diverse (linguistic) background of its students. The institution responds to this reputation, which is often referred to by the members of the school, with several innovative initiatives, like the digital program, the eco program or the CLIL program. The involvement in this last program especially, was supposed to increase the prestige of the school by increasing students' exposure to English. School A was targeted due to the interesting combination of a 'bad reputation' due to linguistic diversity, and at the same time the endeavour to improve its image through the implementation of a multilingual program. This paradox on that multilingualism at school can be either a serious disadvantage or a selling point is not unique of school A, but a phenomena that is observed in other areas in Spain, too. Thus, a detailed study of School A was seen as an opportunity to understand what was going on with language(s) in our schools in the present of globalisation, where multilingualism is sometimes seen as an asset while at other times is still constructed as a problem.

4.3.2. Gaining access

Gaining access to school A was part of a long process. It started with my own training as a CLIL teacher where I met the CLIL and English teacher of school A. My contact started with her, whose teaching enthusiasm got me into her classes and who invited me to attend and observe whenever I wanted. During my stays, this teacher photocopied materials and provided me with books, and documents. Thanks to her involvement and positive attitude towards research, it was comparatively easy to get the parents' consent for their children to participate in the study. This made a difference to the data that could be collected to form the basis of this thesis.

The ethnography in school A was initiated by conducting observations in different cohorts. At the beginning I spent most of my time in the CLIL and EFL classes, and I could observe and collect data in years 3, 4, 5 and 6 (henceforth, Y3, Y4, Y5 and Y6, respectively). The plan of studying several cohorts in detail dissipated as I saw the large amount of rich data I had access to. Therefore, I soon decided to focus on cohort A, which was at that time in Y4 and was the first cohort that started the CLIL program in school A from Y1.

After a few visits, the principal, who I asked for consent to conduct research at the school, started to be interested in what I was doing, and asked me to present my project to the other teachers. After a meeting where I did so, several other teachers started asking me questions in the corridor, some invited me to their classes, or opened up in informal interviews either in the staff room, over the break or in the playground while watching the children. Our conversations, however, were not about my research directly, but we talked about teaching and the children in school. At that time, I often directed the conversations towards group A and their linguistic repertoire. These conversations where spontaneous and unfocussed, I do not use this data per se, but it has influenced my knowledge of how these children experience language(s) too.

4.3.3. The voices of this ethnography

The data gathering process was done during a study period in a host university. The Ethics Comitee of this institution is responsible for granting the permission to collect data in School A. Consent forms, risk assessment forms and participant information sheets were submitted to this instutition and data collection was conducted under their regulations. Documents used are attached in the appendices.

There are 19 children in cohort A. The names below are all pseudonyms following research ethical concerns that aim at preserving the anonymity of research participants and the data gathered here was the result of a background questionnaire:

Table 1. Summary of participants

Name	Place birth	Languages	P.of birth: parent 1	P.of birth: parent 2	Language: parent 1	Language : parent 2
Raquel	Valencia	Valencian Spanish Catalan	Madrid	The Island	Catalan Spanish	Valencian Spanish
Carla	The Island	Spanish Catalan English	Barcelona	Argentina	Spanish Catalan English	Spanish Catalan English
Ignacio	Barcelona	Spanish Catalan	The Island	Granada	Spanish	Spanish
Santi	The Island	Catalan Spanish	The Island	The Philippines	Catalan Spanish English	Tagal Spanish English
Fatima	Spain	Catalan Spanish English Arabic	Morocco	Morocco	Arabic Spanish Catalan French	Arabic Spanish Catalan French
Carlos	The Island	Catalan Spanish English German	Colombia	Colombia	Spanish Colombian English	Colombian English
Omar	The Island	Spanish Catalan English French Arabic Berber	Morocco	Morocco	Arabic Berber Spanish	Arabic Berber Spanish
Mariana	The Island	Catalan Spanish English	Barcelona	The Island	Catalan Spanish English	Catalan Spanish English
Lucía	Romania	Spanish Catalan English Romanian	Turkey	Romania	Turkish (he doesn't live with us)	Romanian Turkish Spanish English
Marisa	The Island	Spanish Catalan English	Valencia	The Island	Spanish	Spanish
Cristiano	The Island	Brazilian Spanish Catalan	Mallorca	Brasil	Spanish Catalan	Spanish Brazilian
Mila	Marbella	Arabic	Morocco	Sahara	Spanish Arabic	French Arabic
Amira	The Island	Berber Arabic Spanish Catalan	Morocco	Morocco	Arabic Spanish	Arabic
Jasmin	The Island	Spanish English Catalan Arabic	Morocco	Morocco	Spanish Arabic	Arabic
Nadia	The Island	Spanish English	Bolivia	Bolivia	Spanish English	Spanish English

		Catalan			Catalan	Catalan Brazilian
Ana	The Island	Catalan English Spanish Dominican	Dominican Republic	Dominican Republic	Spanish Dominican	Spanish Dominican
Aisha	The Island	Catalan Spanish English Arabic	Morocco	Morocco	Arabic Spanish	Arabic Spanish
Ahmed	Morocco	Arabic Spanish Catalan English French	Morocco	Morocco	Arabic Spanish	Arabic
Javi	The Island	Spanish Catalan	The Island	The Island	Spanish Catalan	Spanish Catalan

All children were 9 years old when I started this investigation and 12 at the end of it, with the exception of Ahmed who is a year older. The 19 children in the class agreed to take part in the project and signed the consent form. Three of them have migration histories: Lucía, arrived to the Island age 3, and did all schooling in this same school, from P3 (first year of pre-school) to year 6 of Primary school; Ahmed, who arrived at the age of 5, and did all primary in the same school but had to learn Catalan, Spanish and English from scratch while catching up with the content subjects; and Ana, who was born on the Island, but moved with her family to the Dominican Republic aged 5 and came back to the Island and to the same school when she was 10 years old. All of the students have at least one parent who was born elsewhere, 14 of whom come from outside of Spain and speak different languages or language varieties at home. There is a majority of children with a Moroccan background (seven students) that speak Arabic (although, different varieties). Five of them are Berbers, and thus speak a language that is minoritized and stigmatized in their home country. These numbers (and the table above) correspond to a point in the middle of the study, but the group had and will suffer some demographic changes on my journey with them: some children left to another country and others came new to the group, either from other schools or from other countries. Ana, for example, was not yet in the group in Y4; Ignacio had left by the time I did my last fieldwork observation phase; Mariana arrived in Y5 from another school; Javi, in Y6 from the same other school; and Mila arrived in Y6 from another city in Spain. In the middle of Y6, Omar and his family moved to France.

The main participants in my thesis are the children, and, as discussed, more specifically the cohort of children presented above. Group A was the first that started with the CLIL program

from the first year in primary education (Y1, 6 years old). I met them in Y4 and followed them to the end of their primary school year, Y6. In this thesis, I aim to catch a glimpse of their thoughts, practices and emotions in relation to language(s) and they become the main voices of this ethnography. However, I also use documents and pictures of the school and data gathered with the main teacher to make sense of their lived experience of language.

4.4. Organizing fieldwork: the data collection process

I conducted fieldwork in school A over several years in periods of two weeks. Below, there is a summary of the research phases conducted, with a brief description of the tasks developed during my stays:

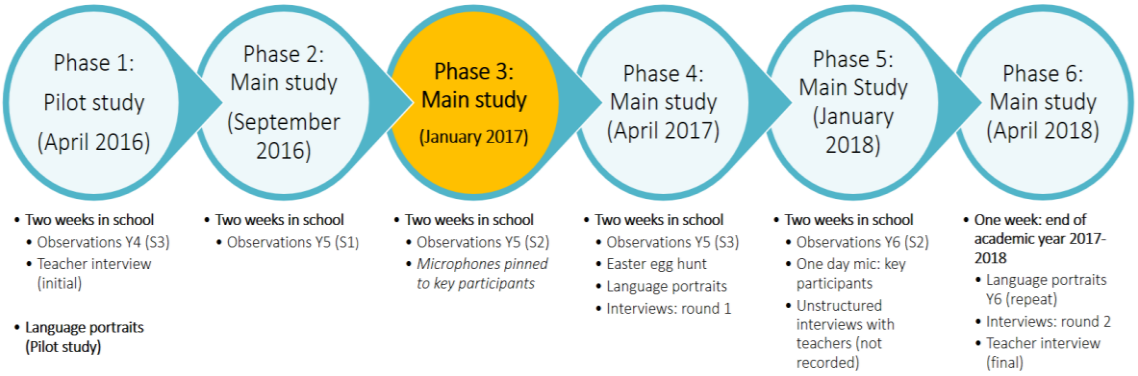

Figure 4. Fieldwork phases

I call phase one, retrospectively, the 'pilot phase' because it was my first contact with the school. This phase started with an interview with the main teacher, with the pseudonym Pilar, which was unstructured and informal in a bar, outside the school setting. During this interview we negotiated access and she said I could already visit the school during that week, she was happy to have me in her classes and she would get consent from the principal for me. In my first encounter with group A, the teacher introduced me as a fellow English teacher from a university abroad, who was studying how students learnt English. During this stay, the children started to get familiar with me and my recorders and had the chance to ask me questions about the study or myself. Recorders were from the start placed in the middle of groups of four (which is how children were normally arranged) and the teacher carried a pinned microphone to capture her interactions with individual students. The most challenging issue at this point was to know who was talking in the audio recordings. This challenge lead to labelling of the recorders and using carefully drawn classroom maps with the names of the children and location of specific recorders to at least reduce the number of possible interactants to four. The audio recordings captured in the teacher's microphone were

easier to decipher, because usually the name of the child whom she was addressing was mentioned during the interaction. My fieldnotes were also important to locate who was taking part in what interaction. After some time, I got to know the participants' voices well and by the end I could more easily identify them, but this would have been impossible without taking an ethnographic approach.

After piloting the observations and my recording system, I still needed to pilot one of the main instruments of my study, the language portrait. The idea was to use them later in the study in school A, so I had to pilot it in other schools with other children. I picked two schools to do that, an urban school with similar characteristics in terms of density and a rural school similar in terms of linguistic diversity. I was not interested in obtaining similar results, but only in testing the instrument. That is, how to give the instructions for doing the language portrait, how the children were responding to the activity, how much time was needed and how to better collect the final commentaries on their portrait. Different ways are pinpointed in the literature, which is described in more detail in the section on research methods below. The pilot study taught me that I needed more recorders to include all the children, that classroom maps were essential and that the language portraits proved motivating and generated useful data. However, the instructions were re-written, the time needed adjusted to 20 minutes and I decided to collect the final comment in an audio format by using a recorder (individually or in pairs, up to the participants' choice) because some pupils did not take the writing task seriously.

In phase 2, the observations were more carefully designed, I had a better idea of what to write on my fieldnotes that always started with a classroom map and focused on moments or encounters that either triggered something out of the norm to happen, or I noted instances when multiple languages were used. During this phase I spent another two weeks observing group A. The children were now in Y5 and I observed mainly EFL and CLIL classes. I now had more recorders, enough to record every group of four and a microphone pinned to the teacher, who was constantly moving from her desk to the blackboard or to particular groups of students.

In phase 3, the children were already used to me and to the recorders. They were always very enthusiastic when I was there. I started to pin microphones to some of them and they all wanted to participate and wear a microphone. That was when I thought I could use this data to select particular voices from the ethnography. The recorders were still placed in the middle of the group, but apart from the static ones, some children had a pinned microphones with

their own recorder that they carried around if they moved. This phase was key in the study, in terms of decisions taken and quality of data gathered.

In phase 4, I was invited to an Easter egg hunt that the school was organizing as part of the EFL program. During this activity, another school was invited to participate. The volunteer native speakers and the speaking assistant, who is part of the CLIL program, were also invited. At this point the children were already familiar with me and interacted with me as if I was another teacher. I continued my observations in CLIL and EFL classes over these two weeks and I conducted language portraits for the first time. The portraits were followed by interview round 1 (see data collection instruments for more detail).

In the next phase (5), the children were already in Y6, their last year in school A. I kept my usual observations in Pilar's classes in this phase but I was also invited to other classes, so I decided to follow the children this time during a whole day in school. I pinned microphones on 4 children that carried them from 8.30 to 1.00 pm, including the breaks and other subjects. At this stage, I also got the chance to have informal and unstructured interviews with other teachers of group A over that day. My conversations with the teachers were informal and focused on how they were teaching or on the children.

In my last phase, I observed the children once more before they moved to high school. Again, I conducted the observations in EFL and CLIL. During this phase, the language portrait activity was repeated to capture change and elicit more information from the children. After the language portrait, I interviewed them (interview round 2) to compare both language portraits and expand on them. I finished the visit with a final interview with the teacher, also informal and semi-structured at her home, thus, outside the school setting.

In the following section, I elaborate on the instruments used for data collection and the different types of data that the study generated. To design the data collection process, I followed recommendations on complementing classroom observations with metalinguistic data to study language practices (e.g., Li Wei 2011) and biographical methods to access the lived experience of language (Busch 2017, 2018).

4.5. Research methods and types of data

Three main methods are used in this ethnography. These are: 1) ethnographic observational field work, 2) language portraits, and 3) semi-structured interviews.

4.5.1. Ethnographic observational field work

Many scholars would agree in that "observation is the signature method of ethnography" (Heller, Pietikäinen & Pujolar 2018: 78). In anthropology, scholars use the term participant observation as the main method to generate data (usually captured in field notes). However, in (critical) sociolinguistics, for example, some scholars have debated the opposition between participant and non-participant observation, since they argue that an observer is always in one way or another participating in the field. I take this viewpoint in my research and I do not distinguish between the two types of observations but instead I align with the view that observation

> (…) is about making familiar things strange, and making strange things familiar. It is about seeing the patterns in social activities that show us how social life is organized, whether or not we, or the people we are working with, are conscious of them. Ethnographic observation helps us notice things about actors, communication, space, time and the material world that we might not notice otherwise, and so it clears the decks for a fresh analysis of what is going on, and of what matters in a particular context. (Heller, Pietikäinen & Pujolar 2018: 78)

Most of the observation data in this thesis belongs to classroom observations. During these, I use simultaneous recordings and sometimes pinned microphones to capture individual and group talk. This is similar to Rampton's (2006) linguistic ethnographic methods in urban schools in London.

Classroom observations generated two types of data: fieldnotes and interactional data (in transcription formats). Fieldnotes usually consisted of a classroom map, side notes on events that disrupted the normal flow of the class, and vignettes describing relevant or telling moments that aimed at answering the research questions or introducing the reader into the setting.

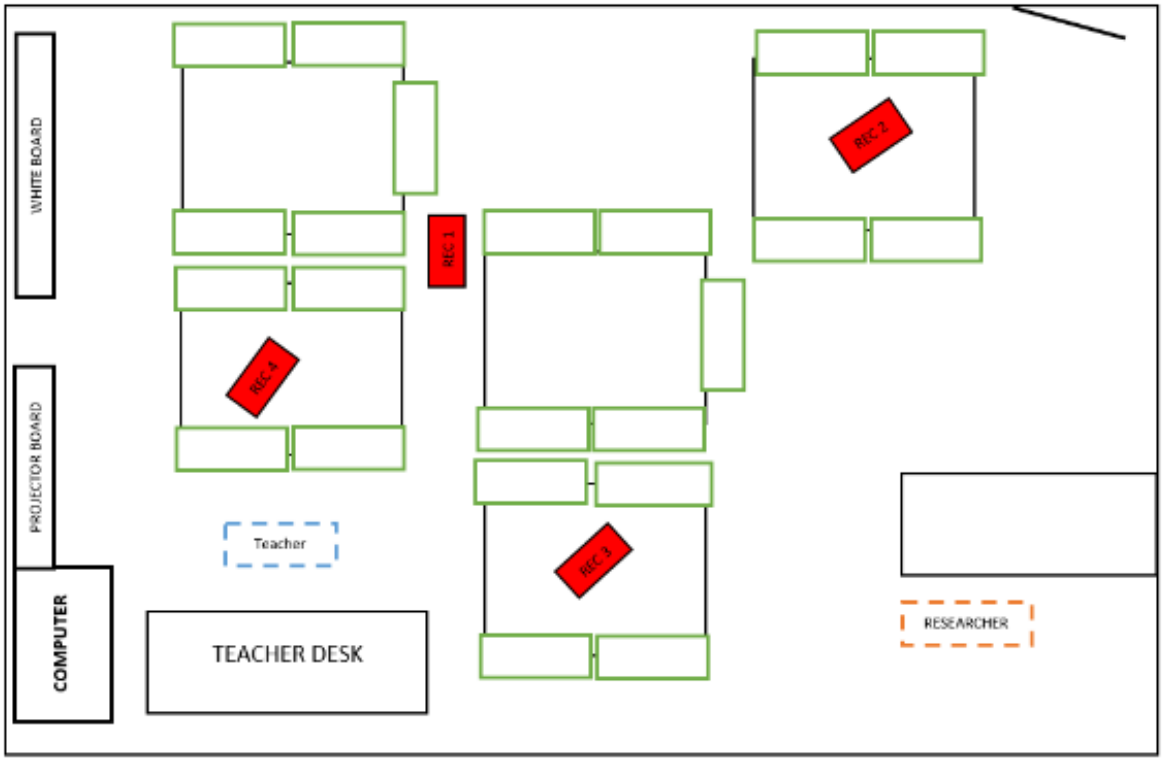

Figure 5. Classroom map template

The second type of data generated from the audio recordings were interactions of children with other children or with the teacher during different events. Most of these took place in the EFL or CLIL class. The transcription process, i.e., the selection of what to transcribe and the transcription conventions, already involved some analytical decisions that were taken considering the research questions. The transcription conventions were adapted from Heller, Pietikäinen and Pujolar (2018) and only relevant features for the research in question were transcribed, mostly pauses (when significant), raising intonation, laughter, overlapping speech, self-interruptions, hesitations and latching (see appendix 3 for transcription conventions). Note that in the extracts shown from now on, and as part of the transcription conventions, Catalan language will be represented in bold, English in Italics and Spanish will be unmarked. The use of other languages are coloured.

In total, I observed group A in 27 occasions: 9 EFL classes, 13 CLIL classes, one day in school (including 4 classes plus playground time), and an Easter egg hunt that was part of the EFL program.

Table 2. Summary of (audio-recorded) observations

	GROUP A			Total			Total
	EFL	CLIL	Other	EFL	CLIL	Other	
Y4	✓ 01-EFL ✓ 02-EFL ✓ 03-EFL	✓ 10-CLILscience ✓ 11-CLILscience		3	2	-	5
Y5	✓ 04-EFL ✓ 05-EFL ✓ 06-EFL ✓ 07-EFL	✓ 12-CLILscience ✓ 13-CLILscience ✓ 14-CLILartscrafts ✓ 15-CLILscience ✓ 16-CLILscience ✓ 17-CLILscience ✓ 18-CLILscience	✓ 27-EasterEggHunt	4	7	1	12
Y6	✓ 08-EFL ✓ 09-EFL	✓ 19-CLILscience ✓ 20-CLILscience ✓ 21-CLILscience ✓ 22-CLILscience	✓ 23-Tutoria ✓ 24-Castellà ✓ 25-Català ✓ 26-Mates	2	4	4	10
Total	9	13	5	27			
Total	27						

The total number of observations generated approximately 30 hours of audio recorded data. The multiple recordings made it possible to focus on key participants or particular groups were fieldnotes indicated that something "strange" or "familiar" happened.

4.5.2. Language portraits: biographical approaches to research in multilingual settings

Biographical research has proven to be particularly productive in addressing topics such as subject positions or identity constructions, language and emotion, fears and desires associated with ways of speaking or language attitudes linked to language ideologies or discourses on language (Martin-Jones & Martin 2017).

In order to collect metalinguistic data and capture the subject perspective I was inspired by biographical research to use language portraits (Busch 2018): that is, a multimodal method of data collection used mainly in biographical approaches to elicit information about linguistic experiences, which consists of using a body silhouette that needs to be coloured by participants with their 'languages' (see example in figure 6).

Figure 6. Busch, Jardine & Tjoutuku 's (2006) body silhouette

The idea of using portraits to elicit information about linguistic diversity originates in the 1990s with Ingrid Gogolin and Ursula Neumann (1991), who saw the need to study linguistic diversity in schools that were becoming more and more multilingual due to migration and globalisation. This idea was further developed and used by Krumm and Jenkins (2001), who used it to raise language awareness in primary school settings. The main idea was to give children a reason to talk about their country of origin and compare the German language with their home language, but it turned out to elicit information related to emotions and feelings linked to language(s) and language use.

After this development, linguistic portraits have started to be used as a research method by the Research Group *Spracherleben* (Experiencing Language), at the Department of Linguistics at the University of Vienna, to approach linguistic diversity in school settings, and although it started as an instrument for children and it is still used to elicit children's language biographies (Krumm 2013), some studies have used it with adolescents (Busch 2010; Osterkorn & Vetter 2014) and adults (Busch, Jardine & Tjoutuku 2006).

Language biographies combine a sociolinguistic and psycholinguistic view of the whole picture (Busch, Jardine & Tjoutuku 2006: 9). However, aiming at eliciting information about how speakers conceive their heteroglossic repertoires is not an easy task (Busch 2012). That is in part because beliefs are not only part of a personal domain that sometimes may not be wished to share, but also because they are abstract constructs often relating to unconscious processes that can be difficult to express. Language portraits have the potential to overcome the aforementioned challenges and can become adequate tools to elicit beliefs and emotions when working with children. Given their non-invasive nature, language portraits have the

potential to enter a personal space and help emotions appear without constraints (Krumm 2013). Also, their multimodal nature, that is, the use of the visual (in the shape of a body silhouette) and the verbal (when commenting on it) may allow for the use of metaphors to emerge and can even help users structure a discourse about unconscious and abstract processes that otherwise may be difficult to verbalize (Busch 2010).

Language portraits as a method to elicit language biographies have been primarily used to explore multilingual identities and linguistic repertoires mainly within a phenomenological approach (e.g., Coffey 2015; Osterkorn & Vetter 2014) as a tool to elicit language practices and perceptions (Busch 2010; Prasad 2014). They have been used to access the lived experiences of children (Busch 2014; Dressler 2015; Martin 2012), adolescents (Busch 2010; Osterkorn & Vetter 2014; Prasad 2014) and adult teachers or teacher candidates (Busch, Jardine & Tjoutuku 2006; Coffey 2015). They have been applied in diverse contexts, normally characterised by their multilingual nature: international contexts (e.g., Coffey 2015), school contexts with high immigration rates (Busch 2014; Dressler 2015; Prasad 2014), places with linguistically and ethnographically diverse landscapes (such as the African context: Busch 2010), schools with bilingual programs (Martin 2012), schools with immersion programs in countries where two majority languages officially coexist (Prasad 2014), and immersion programs, where minority languages coexist with majority and foreign languages (Osterkorn & Vetter 2014). In such diverse contexts, they have an apparent potential as a tool to reflect upon individual heteroglossic realities, to raise language awareness and to re-define linguistic repertoires as resources.

As far as participants are concerned, the studies reviewed considered different participant types in their research designs: few of them considered it as necessary to gather information about the whole school community (e.g., Busch 2010 & Prasad 2014), though the majority focused solely on students (e.g., Busch 2014).

Studies using language portraits make use of different body shapes: some studies use a blank silhouette for participants to colour in (e.g., Busch, Jardine & Tjoutuku 2006; Krumm and Jenkins 2001), others create their own body silhouettes, either by digitally modifying a picture of the participant to transform it into a personalised body image (Prasad 2014), or by drawing their own silhouettes from scratch according to the way they perceive their linguistic selves (Galling 2011). Some studies did actually explicitly mention “colour in your languages where they are in your body” (Dressler 2015: 45) others did not.

Although there are few nuanced differences in the body figures they use, the majority of the studies provide a blank body shaped silhouette, mainly taken from or inspired by two main

studies: Krumm and Jenkins (2001), who uses gendered body silhouettes, or Busch, Jardine & Tjoutuku (2006) who use a slightly different silhouette that differs mainly from Krumm and Jenkins' by the positions of the hands. For this study I will use the one shown in figure 6, because gender was not relevant and the raising hand produced commentaries of preference in the pilot study, but other options might be useful for other contexts, studies or purposes.

Language portraits are generally conducted in the form of a workshop in which participants are given the instructions to colour in a body silhouette with their languages according to the importance they attach to them (see Krumm 2003 for an example of detailed instructions).

Although all the articles follow similar instructions, some studies venture in starting the workshop with a little introduction aiming at modelling the task to young children and introducing oneself (Galling 2011). However, this normally results in children copying the model (as in Galling 2011), which might be why Krumm (2003) emphasises the importance of this step and suggests to give as minimal instructions as possible.

After this review, I conceptualised the use of language portraits as a method to elicit children's accounts of their lived experience of language and multilingualism in a workshop format. The workshop was piloted in different schools in the context of the study. During the workshop session, participants were provided with a blank body silhouette (from Busch, Jardine & Tjoutuku 2006) and were given the following instructions:

1. Reflect on the way you communicate with people, what languages you use with friends, family, teachers, classmates, neighbours...
2. Make a list next to the drawing and associate a colour to each of them.
3. Paint the languages in the body thinking of what they represent to you. Use the same colours you have previously associated to them.
4. Comment on your choices of colours and parts of the body using a recorder or writing a short text, below your portrait.

The children were recorded while they were doing the tasks and recorders captured their hesitations and decisions on where to put what and with what colour, plus some reflections on language and multilingualism in general. After colouring in the silhouette, the children were asked to write a comment or take some notes on what they did with the portrait at the back of their drawing, but this was an optional task, usually asked of the ones that finished early. Upon completion, the participants took a recorder in turns and could go to another

room (what they called the library), alone or with a peer, to record the explanation/comment of their language portraits. The workshop lasted around 20 minutes, with some children finishing in the first 10 minutes.

In this manner, the data collection process generated three types of data: a language portrait (visual), a written or audio-recorded comment on their language portrait (textual) and their on-task conversations in the case of the children (discursive/interactive).

In the literature review of the use of language portraits as a method of data collection, scholars differed in the way they followed-up the activity to triangulate or expand on these data. There are three types of activities that normally follow up language portraits: a) interviews: individual interviews (Dressler 2015; Osterkorn & Vetter 2014; Prasad 2014), group interviews (Prasad 2014) or group discussions (Mossakowski & Busch 2008); b) Longer written comments: as a second part of the task (Galling, 2011) or as a voluntary task (Coffey 2015); c) Follow-up questionnaires: Busch (2010), Osterkorn and Vetter (2014), Mossakowski and Busch (2008).

The use of questionnaires is particularly recommended in combination with language portraits (Mossakowski & Busch 2008). As an overview, the studies use both content questionnaires and/or background questionnaires. Some studies complement the use of language portraits with questionnaires which aim to elicit information about languages and language use (Busch 2010; Martin 2012; Osterkorn & Vetter 2014) with questions about linguistic preferences and feelings. Busch (2010), for example, argues that questionnaires in themselves can elicit language practices when analysing what language participants choose to answer it in or whether they mixed languages; other studies use questionnaires to gather background information about language use from parents or children (Dressler 2015). In my study, I use questionnaires to gather background information and initial attitudes towards English (appendix 4).

The majority of studies reviewed focus only on the visual data generated by the language portrait itself, together with the verbal or narrative account of it. Only two studies, Osterkorn and Vetter (2014) and Prasad (2014), are part of larger scale projects where observations are also included. Here, it might be worth mentioning the limitations of language portraits as an isolated method and consider Li Wei's (2011) suggestion of using metalinguistic commentaries and observations to triangulate data about language practices and the study of linguistic repertoires (Busch 2012).

In this study, the use of language portraits is complemented with interviews with the children about their views on language(s), where portraits are used as prompts. Altogether, this gives a collection of metalinguistic data in which language ideologies and the lived experience of language are foregrounded.

4.5.3. Interviews

The data elicited with the language portraits was further triangulated and expanded using follow-up interviews (similar to Osterkorn & Vetter 2014). Qualitative research often offers different types of interviews, from in-depth, to semi-structured or unstructured interviews (Dörnyei 2007). In sociolinguistic research the term ethnographic interviewing is also used to talk about the combination of close observations and interviews with key participants as methodology (Heller, Pietikäinen & Pujolar 2018). In this thesis, I use this option and I organized the interviews around the language portrait which served as a prompt to start the conversation with children and delve into their own accounts of their lived experience of language and multilingualism.

> (…) ethnographic interviewing elicits people's narratives, accounts and articulations, their discursive construction of themselves and others, of the events and their conditions and consequences. Interviews can also be used to collect explanatory data (say with respect to the resources involved), and undertake the work of tracing the circulation of people, resources and discourses. (Heller, Pietikäinen & Pujolar 2018: 86)

In the study, I conducted two rounds of semi-structured interviews: round 1 organized around language portrait 1 and round 2 organized around portrait 2. Each round started with clarification questions and comments that expanded on their language portrait and the previously recorded comment on it, but they differed in the following stage of the interview. Round 1 focused on the stories and wishes of the children and round 2 aimed at comparing both portraits and make them think of how they changed (appendix 6).

In the design of the interviews, suggestions on how to interview young children were taken into account: questions were age appropriate, they were focused on the 'here and now' or used a combination of methods, like drawings/pictures (Arksey & Knight 1999: 116-118), group or pair interviewing was taken to be less intimidating, and thus were conducted in pairs (Greig & Taylor 1999: 132), the setting was a place where they felt comfortable and where there were no distractions or other adults present (Maguire 2005). In the study, we conducted the interviews in a room that they called the library, which was empty at the time of the interviews. The interviews were designed to be no more than 15 minutes long (Lewis 1992). In all, the challenges of interviewing young children are acknowledged, for example

the fact that the interviewer is an adult will inevitably affect the interview (Morison, Moir & Kwansa 2000: 113), however, I also take into account that when trying to understand the lived experience of children, children have been regarded as "the best sources of information about themselves" (Docherty & Sandelowski 1999: 177).

4.6. Data analysis

4.6.1. Initial steps

The data analysis started with the storing and the transcription of data. I coded the audio-recordings and transcriptions of observations with the following information: 1. type of data; 2. number of observation; 3. what is observed; 4. who is observed; 5. where (i.e., what school); and 6. when (i.e., date) (e.g., O-10-CLILscience-Y4-GA-SA-04.04.16). Fieldnotes that are not attached to an observation but to a phase of data collection (see the figure above) and that gather moments where something happened or used to introduce a scene as a vignette, are recorded in my notebook with a month and a year of data collection only. Interviews were coded as round 1 or 2 and the name of the children participating in them.

The transcription of the data started after revisiting the research questions to decide on the transcription conventions that were important to represent the data in order to answer the questions. Not many prosodic features of speech were of interest, but a few were important for the interpretation of latent meaning (Dörnyei 2007) or latent themes (Braun & Clarke 2006). The transcription conventions are adapted from Heller, Pietikäinen and Pujolar (2018).

One of the most challenging things to do was to translate the extracts into English, since normally there are features that belong to different named languages in an interaction, especially the ones that are interesting for this study on multilingual practices. For clarity of the events transcribed, I chose to represent languages in my transcriptions: comments made in Spanish are unmarked, Catalan is represented in bold and English is in Italics. Finally, the presence of features of other languages are coloured. In translation, some of the meaning might be lost, reading the original is encouraged to understand a passage, especially when language alternation occurs. In general, I have provided the original above and the translation below, but in few occasions, when this made no sense and didn't help understanding the passage, I chose to open brackets (=) on the original extract and translate the chunks that are attributed to a language other than English. Translations in languages that the researcher

cannot speak (i.e. Romanian and Arabic) were done by external translators that work in research too.

I classified my data into two broad types when considering what to include in the transcriptions: interview data and interactional data. I transcribed the interview data using a broad transcription system with attention to specific prosodic features (like laughter or hesitations and long pauses). The interactional data, on the other hand, needed more attention in the transcription phase and was obtained by using a mix of description systems, including broad and narrow transcription for classroom observations. I approached the transcription of interactional data in three steps. Firstly, I transcribed two full classroom observations (including simultaneous recordings of the same event) using narrow transcription. In this step, the aim was to familiarise myself with the process. A second step involved the combined use of description and broad transcription to approach the rest of observations. Finally, a selection process followed, that involved first getting familiar with the whole data set and identifying specific episodes that would help answering the research questions. Those episodes were then transcribed using narrow transcription. For example, for the analysis of chapter 7, which includes mainly interactional data, I was particularly interested in label quests in the classroom discourse, and therefore, I paid closer attention to transcribing narrowly those classroom events. For transcription, I did not use any software program, but for storing and coding the data, Nvivo was used and particularly helpful.

4.6.2. Data analysis

I describe the analysis process below as a theme-based ethnographic analysis, sensitive to language (Heller, Pietikäinen & Pujolar 2018). It is informed primarily by thematic analysis, thematic discourse analysis and discourse analysis (Braun & Clark 2006). Thematic analysis is a technique of analysis that consists of "identifying, analysing and reporting patterns (themes) within data" (Braun & Clark 2006: 79). A theme is a piece of information that "captures something important about the data in relation to the research question, and represents some level of patterned response or meaning within the data set" (Braun & Clarke 2006: 82). The development of themes in this type of analysis involves interpretation and theorization in an iterative process where literature and data are constantly in conversation. In this analysis, themes are not identified at a semantic level, but the analysis is conducted at a latent level, that is, a theme "starts to identify or examine underlying ideas, assumptions, and conceptualizations / and ideologies / that are theorized as shaping or informing the

semantic content of the data" (Braun & Clarke 2006: 84). This analysis is informed by a constructionist paradigm (e.g., Burr 1995) and overlaps with some forms of discourse analysis that could be called thematic discourse analysis "where broader assumptions, structures and/or meanings are theorized as underpinning what is actually articulated in the data" (Braun & Clarke 2006: 85) and it "seeks to theorize the sociocultural contexts, and structural conditions, that enable the individual accounts that are provided" (Braun & Clarke 2006: 85). Examples of this type of analysis that have influenced the analysis below can be found in Singer and Hunter (1999).

In addition to thematic analysis and thematic discourse analysis as described above, I used tools from discourse analysis in the domain of social interaction (Wetherell, Taylor & Yates 2001) to analyse the interactional data when features of discourse were useful to answer the research questions. In chapter 7, for example, I coded a type of classroom interaction that is usually used for teaching vocabulary (i.e., label quests) and I analysed the sequence of such interactions using tools from CA (e.g., repair). In a similar way, in chapter 9, prosodic features helped me in the labelling of affective practices that I take as the smallest units of analysis to theorise affect.

Each of the analytical chapters (chapter 6, 7 and 8) are guided by one of the research questions (presented in the introduction). Below I develop further on the analysis of each chapter.

4.6.3. Data analysis by chapter

In chapter one, thematic DA (thematic discourse analysis) has been used to analyse the whole data set of language portraits. This chapter reports on ethnographic data exploring the children's construction of their multilingual self.

> The term 'thematic DA' is used to refer to a wide range of pattern-type analysis of data, ranging from thematic analysis within a social constructionist epistemology (ie, where patterns are identified as socially produced, but no discursive analyse is conducted), to forms of analysis very much akin to the interpretative repertoire form of DA. (Braun & Clarke 2006: 81)

In the analysis, children draw on discourses of multilingualism as problem, right and resource as they struggle to make sense of their multilingual self and construct multilingualism in different ways. I argue that therefore, this chapter goes beyond thematic analysis by focusing on discourses as in Singer and Hunter (1999).

The thematic discourse analysis conducted in this chapter is guided by the work of Potter and Wetherell (1987) and consider common threads and inconsistencies included in the narratives of children in their language portraits. Initially, a broad thematic level of analysis was used to examine the influences of societal discourses on the children's representation of their multilingual self. The attention was primarily based on examining how, in their individual accounts, children reconciled their representations of themselves, negotiated and regulated their linguistic repertoire in the face of different orientations towards multilingualism. I did the analysis as follows: 1) listening to audiotaped interviews and identifying initial discursive themes; 2) grouping themes together checking emerging patterns; 3) interpreting themes in an iterative process that includes literature review and theory reading; 4) re-checking themes and interpretation with data; 5) narrow transcription of examples for each theme (new themes can emerge); 6) grouping and reducing themes and categories that showed emerging discourses.

This chapter is attached to a social constructionist epistemology. In this view of the world, realities are seen as constructions and truth as multiple and subjective. It argues that we construct and interpret our own realities from the meanings that are available to us.

Methodologically, it follows the turn to discourse analysis in the field (Martin-Jones & Martin 2017). Discourse researchers typically work with texts, texts can be transcripts of (naturally occurring) conversations or organized events (e.g., interviews or similar) and/or documents (such as policy statements, documents, found in historical archives, diaries, business memos (Wetherell, Taylor & Yates 2001: 3). In this chapter, the texts I use to answer the research question belong to a particular type of organized event, which I conceptualize in this chapter and that is centred on the use of language portraits to elicit the children's lived experience of language and multilingualism. This organized event, or task, generated three different types of texts: conversations of children while making their language portraits, a reflexive (individual) comment on their language portrait, and a post-reflexive (pair) interview with the researcher based on their language portrait.

Three main themes were created that represent how children refer to their multilingual self and linguistic repertoire: change, roots and efficiency. Later labelled as the processes they represent: problematizing, romanticizing and capitalizing language and multilingualism. This chapter is structured around these three processes.

In chapter two, the analysis moves to the realm of interaction and tries to interpret interactional data in the classroom. Here I use as a data set the observations conducted during the study and the transcriptions that were afterwards produced together with the fieldnotes of those observations. The aim is to discuss the practiced language policy (Bonacina 2012) of a particular ecology by analyzing a specific genre of classroom discourse, i.e., label quests (Bonacina 2013; Creese & Blackledge 2010; Martin 2003). To understand the practiced language policy of Class A, I analyse the medium that speakers orient to in this interactional events and try to uncover the interactional norms that are in place and that indicate that a particular medium is appropriate/legitimate. For this, I use tools from classroom discourse (e.g., label quests), CA (e.g., the notion of repair and a turn by turn analysis) and ethnomethodology (e.g., norm/deviance) (Bonacina 2012, 2020).

In the third chapter, I draw on qualitative case study methodology (Stake 2005; Yin 2014). In linguistic ethnography, Rampton (2006) emphasize the potential analytical use of case studies as "telling" cases, not necessarily typical cases.

Here, I selected two cases that covered different repertoires, experiences and trajectories. The main data analysed in this chapter is the biographical data gathered through language portraits and interviews of two cases, Lucía and Carlos. Data from the observations and other ethnographic data is used as secondary data. These two cases allow me to detect recurrent patterns in the affective dimension of their lived experience of language but also delve into the discourses that are reproduced in those affects. Although here themes are also related to discourses, the orientation for analysis is more thematic and is informed by phenomenological guidelines for an analysis of individual cases that are in the last stage of analysis integrated (Willig 2008). In the conclusion of the chapter, both cases are joint to produce the interpretation of their affective experience.

4.7. Research ethics

After gaining access to the site, with the permission of the principal and the main teacher being on board in the study, I took several steps to conduct the research according to ethical principles. Since the main informants of my study were going to be the children, I needed consent from their legal guardians to use the data collected in the school. For this, I prepared an information sheet in Spanish and Catalan (appendix 1) that explained broadly what I was going to do and for what purpose. At all times, the emphasis was put in the possibility of withdrawing from the study at any point. Gaining consent from parents in this school was

deemed to be particularly difficult, for many reasons: sometimes letters or notes from school do not reach parents, sometimes parents do not speak either of the languages I can speak. However, the teacher took an active role on this and made sure that parents got the information and explained what was not clear to them. In this way, I got all the consent forms signed and all children in class A participated in the study. Apart from consent forms where the safety and free will of my participants was guaranteed, I had to get permission from the Spanish authorities confirming my status of no prior convictions (similarly to a criminal records check in the UK) to get granted access to spaces where children participate, like schools.

Once the safety of the participants was assured, I started dealing with the issue of anonymity. How to guarantee the anonymity of my participants proved to be challenging as it is usually the case in ethnographies, where you focus on how people live, experience and act in very particular situations and settings, providing thick descriptions of these (Heller, Pietikäinen & Pujolar 2018). At times it was also difficult to keep the Island where I conducted the study anonymous, since it is rather small and the sociolinguistic description of it is particular. The school I chose as site for my ethnography is also particular and there are not many schools with those characteristics. However those are at the same time essential to understand the lived experience of my informants. In this concern, I did my best to at least keep the children unidentifiable, and I omitted information when I considered that it would put my participants in a sensitive position. The focus then lay on pseudonymising participants and ensuring the confidential treatment of any data obtained. I refrained from using certain information that would identify my participants.

4.8. Reflexivity and the position of the researcher

In this section I engage with the reflexivity process during my research and my own position as a researcher in the field. Reflexivity is now established as a critical component of qualitative research and a marker of quality in ethnographic research (Townsend & Cushion 2020). The importance of reflexivity as a hallmark of ethnography is a result of the reflexive turn (Venkatesh 2013), which engaged with critiques of epistemology, methodology and representation in social sciences and it refers to the reflection on how the ethnographer's social position influences the interpretation of the data.

> A reflexive approach enables us to be conscious of the social, ethical, and political impact of our research; the central, fluid, and changing nature/s of power relations

> (with participants, gatekeepers, research funders, etc.); and our relationships with the researched, aspects which diffractive methodologies overlook. (Lumsden 2019: 4)

This section follows a reflexive approach that is guided by the methodological rule of 'making the familiar strange' which is necessary especially when conducting ethnography 'at home' (i.e., in a 'familiar' setting) (Myers 2011; Van Maanen 1995). I engage in this process by focusing here on the ways in which my social position and location influenced my experiences in the field, including access to the setting, relationships with the informants, and the research process. Reflecting upon these interactions in the field sheds light on the ways in which informants relate to the ethnographer. In this chapter, I focus on my experiences as a female ethnographer researching the classroom culture of children with migrant background in a school where the teachers are all local with their own ideas of integration and multilingualism. Here, I knew that I wanted the voices of the children to be the ones that would guide this study, but first, a note on reflexivity and my own position.

I entered the school, in which I intended to study the multilingual children's experience of language, mainly of children with migrant working class background, as a white woman working in a university abroad, an English teacher in my mid-thirties, born on the Island and more or less of the age of their parents, as a child pointed out in my first encounter with them. This position of power did inevitably condition my relationship with them, and the data that resulted from my study.

I was made aware of my position as the students addressed me in Catalan, or sometimes greeted me with a *good morning* in English. The students perceived me as a teacher, since teachers and authority figures are addressed in Catalan in school, and they also perceived me as an English teacher, which is actually how the teacher introduced me to group A before I was even there, she told me later. This position has influenced my interactions with the children and how they interacted with me, often telling me what I wanted to hear or what they thought I wanted to hear. This was especially so during interviews or language portraits. And that is why the on-task recordings of the groups of four or the pinned microphones worked well in giving me data to triangulate. At the beginning, they were still very aware that they were being recorded, but soon they became familiar with it and it turned into routine, and the recordings captured more spontaneous talk and interactions.

During my study, I recognised my own privileged position while I was understanding more and more about their lived experience (of language). Ideologies and discourses that I once

was socialized in, too, became apparent and questioned as they were never before. This realisation made me question whether I was the right person to study this matter, and through this questioning, I acknowledge that I probably just catch a glimpse of the children's experience with social justice in education in this interpretation of the data gathered in school A through my own position.

Most of the children in school A, live in a neighbourhood I had only entered once previous to the study, as a teenager to play football in a summer tournament. It is a working class neighbourhood where mostly migrants live, the buildings are higher than in the rest of the city, and flats are crammed and tightly placed one next to the other. You can see that they are not held in a very good condition, from the outside, and they are usually cheaper to rent or buy than in the rest of the city. Now, in my mid-thirties, I lived there in the central street of the neighbourhood during my fieldwork. A friend held a flat in one of this higher buildings and there I moved during the last phases of data collection. It is indeed a working class neighbourhood, where a lot of people live compared to its size. You can always see children playing in the old football court and men (mostly) sitting in the two bars that are placed along the street. Different cultures live together in that space, often greeting each other and offering help. I mostly hear Spanish everywhere and sometimes Arabic if I stumble upon some people going down the stairs in my building that are talking to each other. They greet me in Spanish as soon as they notice me and keep on their way. Sometimes I hear children speaking Spanish and then turning to another child and translating into Arabic (often rules of a game while they are in the football court).

In my stays in school A, I was very quiet, everyone knew me and greeted me on the corridors, but I had very few interactions with other teachers until the end of my study, when they were already used to me. The rest of the staff all knew when I arrived and left during my visits, because there were sweets in the staff room and a thank you note, but apart from that time when the principal insisted in that I presented what I was doing to the rest of the staff, I did not speak about my research with them and I was mostly acting as an in-service teacher that was learning from the experiences at the school. This also made me a non-threatening figure to the teachers at school. The children also relaxed with time when they realised they could speak to me in any language they preferred. Mostly they did in Catalan, Spanish or using some words in English.

4.9. Conclusion

In this chapter, I have presented my research methodology. I have reflected on ethnography as ontology and epistemology and described how I entered the field. I introduced here the voices of my ethnography and described the data collection process. The combination of ethnographic observations, language portraits and interviews are proved to be relevant methods to generate data on the lived experience of language of multilingual children. The examination of the data from different perspectives has been presented above in all complexity in the data analysis section. I have ended the chapter with the introduction of the ethical measures taken to preserve participants' safety and anonymity and finally, a reflexivity section draws attention to the researcher as part of the world being investigated.

5. An ethnographic picture

5.1. Introduction

> A happy song from the 80s is heard in all the neighbourhood and it gets louder and louder as I approach the school. I focus on remembering what song is it that is playing, replacing the traditional bell at 8.30 in the morning, but I immediately get distracted by the noise of children and families at the open gate that leads inside the school. Just in front of the open gate, Aisha is talking to her mother in Arabic at the entrance while taking over her younger brother's hand. Then she goes inside the school through the big gate and takes her brother to the pre-school entrance/door. She leaves him with the group while greeting her teacher in Catalan, "bon dia". As she joins the flow of children into the main entrance she joins a group of peers and starts talking about a TV show in Spanish "¿visteis la serie ayer?". I follow them inside and spot the English teacher at the entrance door, she waves at me and indicates to go meet her. I go next to her while she greets the students inside the room in English with a "good morning". Aisha says "good morning" as she goes in and looks at me curiously. (Fieldnotes – April, 2016)

In this chapter I take an ethnographic look to introduce the setting of the study and the participants. School A was selected due to the multilingual and multicultural character of its neighbourhood and the children. This chapter is structured in three parts: 1) school A, 2) the teacher and, 3) group A. In each section I talk about the three issues that brought me there in the first place, that is, the migration background of the students, the multilingualism that is therefore latent in the school, and the importance of English, salient in their CLIL program. These features made the school unique to explore language matters in the present of globalisation and the lived experience of multilingualism in school.

5.2. School A

The school is located in the centre of one of the main cities of the Island, next to one of the poorest neighbourhoods in town. The school documents describe it as a neighbourhood with a "mid-low economic and socio-cultural level" (*programació de centre, p.3*). It is a place that welcomes a high number of migration coming from the south of Spain and other countries like Morocco, Ecuador, Brazil, Colombia and Romania. The school argues that the characteristics of the neighbourhood conditions the types of students attending the school

since, on the Island, students are distributed to schools by proximity of their residence. The school does not have a very good reputation, which is attached to a perceived high number of foreign students that form part of the student body of the school and the low-income level of the families.

It is a state school with pre-school and primary education. This means that students are between 3 to 12 years old (see the context description for more on the education system in Spain). It is located in an old building that is situated in a terrain at different ground levels and is accessed through a big metal gate. The building has four floors and at the time of the study it has 3 pre-school units/grades and 6 Primary school units/grades. The school welcomes 170 students, of which more than 50 % are described as foreigners (*Programació de centre, p. 3*). Compulsory school starts at 8.30 until 13.30 but there is an early morning service starting from 7.30. Likewise, they have an extra service for lunch until 15.15 and the possibility to extend that with extracurricular activities that finish at 16.15.

The school counts as foreign not only the newcomers that are supposed to be equally distributed among the different schools on the Island (regardless of their address of residence), but also the students with migrant background (i.e., students born on the Island, but whose parents are not) (*Programació de centre, p.17*).

The school regards this diversity as a 'challenge' and emphasizes the involvement of the teacher body and the implementation of innovative ways of teaching in order to overcome this challenge. The 18 teachers that form the school understand it as "a space of learning and socialization that will have an impact in their lived experience and life projects of their students" (*Programació de centre, p. 3*). The educational aims of the school and the innovations taken to deal with this challenge are described in the following excerpt:

Extract 5. 1

> **La nostra escola és plena de color i de vida, amb la intenció clara d'educar els/les alumnes en el respecte cap a la pluralitat lingüística i cultural, així com formar-los cap a un esperit crític i reflexiu. Tots els projectes i plans que duim a terme a l'escola: Projecte de Llengües Estrangeres, E-twining, Auxiliar de Conversa, Voluntaris Anglesos, Centre examinador Trinity, Projecte Jump Math, Projecte Snappet, Biblioteca-Pla Lector de centre, Projecte de Radio Escolar, Projecte 4Cordes, Educació Emocional, Escola Ecoambiental i les col·laboracions amb varies entitats ens faciliten aquesta tasca en ser una eina magnífica per unificar esforços i oferir a la Comunitat**

Educativa un projecte comú amb un sentit clar de globalització. (*Programació de centre, p. 3*)

Translation

Our school is full of color and life, with the clear intention of educating students to respect linguistic and cultural plurality, as well as teaching them to be critical and reflective. All the projects and plans we carry out at the school: Foreign Language Project, E-twining, Conversation Assistant, English Volunteers, Trinity Exam Center, Jump Math Project, Snappet Project, Library-Center Reader Plan, Center Project School Radio, *4Cordes* Project, Emotional Education, Eco-Environmental School, and other collaborations with various entities facilitate this task as it is a great tool to unify efforts and offer the Educational Community a common project with a clear sense of globalization. (*Programació de centre, p. 3*)

In this thesis I focus mainly on language and language issues, but I acknowledge that looking at diversity from other angles would also help understand the stigmatization of this school (e.g., race, class, religion). In the following section I take a tour inside the school focusing on the enactment of multilingualism and language within this space. Guided by research on linguistic landscape (e.g., Blommaert & Maly 2015), I describe the main themes that are presented in the corridors, walls, classrooms and backyard of the school.

5.2.1. Inside the gates

The school builds a picture that goes from a global to a local identity as regards to language inside its doors. There are three main features that the school seems to be keen to develop as markers of identity: migration, multilingualism and English. I argue that the following images build a specific affective atmosphere (Sumartojo & Pink 2018) that mediate the dominant ideologies in school A and the lived experience of the multilingual children that attend it.

5.2.1.1. Migration

In the policy documents, the school discusses migration as a distinctive mark of the school (*Programació de centre, p. 5*). Inside the gates we also find signs that define the identity of the school in relation to migration and the position that it takes. The following poem was first exhibited in the staff room in one of my visits and moved to the corridors on another, but it was always present somewhere in the school during my ethnography.

Picture 1. Poster on wall: Poem on Migration

The poem above is originally in Catalan, and it would be translated as follows:

> You could...
>
> If you had been born in another land, you could be white, you could be black... In another country away from your home, you would say "yes" in another language. You would have grown up in a different way, maybe better or maybe worse. You would be luckier or have more difficulties... You would have friends and games of a different kind; you would dress clothes of coat or silk, leather shoes or espadrilles, or you would wear no clothes lost in the jungle. You would read tales and poems or you could have no books and be illiterate. You could eat sweets or only dry bread. You could... you could...

In this poem, empathy is evoked. Every sentence puts you in an imaginary position that might be the position of some of the children at this school or their families. It invites the reader to imagine the lived experience of dislocation (Busch 2017). It calls the reader to acknowledge difference and suggests an openness to hear different stories and lived experiences.

5.2.1.2. Multilingualism

Multilingualism is represented at two levels in the school corridors. A global perspective is exhibited for example in the poster of the council of Europe, which hung temporarily in the English class during one of my stays. Here, several languages are represented, including some of the historically minoritized languages in the country (e.g, Catalan).

Picture 2. Poster on wall: Council of Europe European Day of Languages

A second level represents national multilingualism, exhibiting the languages of Spain: Spanish, Catalan, Galician and Euskera (the Basque language). The four official languages of Spain are displayed in the following poster that hangs in the staff room.

Picture 3. Poster on wall (Author: trade Union UGT)

Here, the sentence "teach how to think, teach how to be free" is translated in the four languages.

These posters can be seen as a representation of the discourses (sometimes competing ones) that circulate in school and reproduce an orientation to multilingualism as a resource. However, enacting local language policies all formal signs are in Catalan. English is sometimes used when materials relevant to CLIL projects are presented or when the EFL teacher makes an announcement on the corridor's board. Spanish seems to be present also in the English spaces, positioning it as a legitimate language through which to learn English. In the following image from the school's orchard, for example, the three languages are used to describe this plant.

Picture 4. Labels in the school orchard

In this sign, we can read 'faves', 'habas' and 'broad beans', the Catalan, Spanish and English alternatives for this plant/bean. This is an example of a sign that builds the trilingual identity that the school wants to portray. This was initiated with the TIL (*Tractament Integrat de Llengües*), described in chapter 2, which forced state schools to adopt a trilingual model and which was met with a lot of controversy. This school embraced the idea of including English and Spanish in their education, which is thought to be positive in this context due to the challenging linguistic diversity of its students (*programació de centre, p. 5*).

5.2.1.3. English

The school is very invested in the English language not only through CLIL (3 hours a week of a content subject added to the 3 hours a week of EFL), but also through a program that involves Native speakers of English from an association that I will call 'The British on the Island', its compromise with the Fonix (i.e., an English contest at a regional level) and the preparation of the Trinity college A2 exam certificate.

Native speakers volunteering

The English teacher of the school initiated a collaboration with 'The British' with the permission of the local authorities to enhance the opportunities to develop students' English and get extra support at no extra cost. This program involves two volunteers from this association called 'the British on the Island', name given to preserve its anonymity. 'The British on the Island' consists of a group of British citizens who come regularly for holidays

to the Islands or have come to retire. These two volunteers come once a week for the entire day and participate in the English language classes with Pilar (pseudonym of the main teacher in the study).

During one of my stays, there was a poster displayed in the English classroom entitled "The British heritage on the Island" which announced a series of events to present this heritage to children by the association. The teacher is proud of having set up this project with the British on the Island, and indeed she maintains a personal relationship with the two volunteers (both retired and in their 60s) who she helps in exchange with their Spanish. She enjoys having them in class, and appreciates them a lot, but she tells me that having native speakers around alone does not help, because she needs to tell them what to do, so the planning of the lesson is actually more demanding. It is more work for her, but now that she has been doing this for years, she knows what to do, and the children and the volunteers are also used to it. This does not mean that it is always easy, my fieldnotes report on some days when the two volunteers were exhausted and sad, because "the kids couldn't speak correctly", "their level was too low", or "they do not seem to progress" (Fieldnotes - January 2018).

The British heritage on the Island

The British conquered the Island in 1708, finally taking possession in 1713 under the Treaty of Utrecht (Donaldson 1994). The presence of the British on the Island lasted for almost the entire 18th century and this is very well-known by islanders who often use it as a trait of their linguistic and cultural identity. From the British occupation, for example, the islanders inherited certain types of architecture (e.g., bow-window or *boinder*) and loan words (e.g., chalk – *xoc*). This trait is nowadays almost used as a way to add some prestige, due to the high status of English. The picture below was hanging in the EFL class in one of my visits.

Picture 5. Notice board in the EFL classroom: Photos of the commemoration of the British domination in a town of the Island

In this strip of the local newspaper, a commemoration of the British domination is described. In these references, the school is portraying English as a high-status language that increases prestige for the Islanders. In a way, English is seen as legitimizing its presence through a heritage discourse, and positioned as something to be proud of.

Trinity exam and the Fonix contest

The school also helps students who want to take an official exam certificate in their preparation during regular school hours. They prepare for the Trinity exam (https://www.trinitycollege.com/qualifications/english-language). The test itself however, needs to be paid by the student. This has sometimes been an issue for some children, but the teacher tells me that she has organized cake selling in the breaks to collect money for those who needed it. Not all the children take the exam, and although in theory every child is entitled to do it, the teacher knows in advance which children can do it or not and tries to invest time and support (either with the volunteers or with the CLIL language assistant) with the children she thinks likely to pass the exam. As my stay goes by, more and more children want to participate.

Something similar happens with the contest *The Fonix*, which takes place every year. The children on the Islands compete to know who is better in English in different phases. The school also encourages children to participate, but the participants are chosen among "the

best". During my ethnography, Carla is at the finals of the contest and she is congratulated by the teacher in front of the class.

Picture 6. Notice board in the corridor: External exams

Content and language integrated learning (CLIL)

The school adopted a plurilingual program using CLIL (Content and Language Integrated Learning) through the medium of English four years before the TIL (*Tractament Integrat de Llengües*) reform was launched. At that time, schools could voluntarily adhere to certain programs and would benefit from it in different ways. In the case of the plurilingual program, first called *Seccions Europees* (European areas), schools would get a native speaker assistant, which at a time of cuts and reduction of any extra support in schools, was seen as the most important benefit. The teachers teaching in this program should have at least a B2 level in English and a teacher training program focused on CLIL methodology. English language support was offered to train teachers for a few years, too.

Picture 7. Notice board in the corridor: Plurilingual program and European areas

In the picture above, the centre portrays the plurilingual program (earlier called European areas) and clearly making it an important and distinctive feature of the school.

In sum, there are three themes that seem to be salient in the depiction of the school in a description of its linguistic landscape and official documents: migration, multilingualism and English. In the following section, I describe how the teacher viewed these traits that characterise the school and I explore how they are built in relation to her lived experience of language.

5.3. The teacher

5.3.1. Introduction

Pilar was 35 years old at the beginning of the study and had been working in School A for 8 years. She has a degree in English language teaching for primary education and in school she co-coordinates the Plurilingual Program with the other English teacher. She teaches EFL and CLIL in year 4, 5 and 6**.** The CLIL program started 6 years ago and the subjects that they chose to teach in English were Sciences (natural and social sciences) and Arts and Crafts.

Figure 7. Teacher's language portrait

In her repertoire she portrays Catalan, Italian (she is married to an Italian man and she is learning the language), Castilian and English.

Extract 5. 2

Pilar: **Jo he pintat es cap un tros de braç esquerra i sa panxa de vermell en castellà perquè és sa llengua amb sa qui pens i amb sa qui sent després he pintat es braç verd i un tros de cos {laughing} de verd perquè anglès perquè és sa llengu que empr a sa feina i és sa que me dóna de menjar ai de lila s'italià al cor perquè és sa llengu que he après arrel de sa meva relació amb es meu homo i es castellà a ses cames perquè és sa llengu que empr an es dia a dia per moure'm**

Translation

Pilar: **I have coloured my head and a piece of my left arm and my belly in red for Spanish because it is the language in which I think and in which I feel / then I have my arm coloured in green and a bit of my body {laughing} in green because English because it is the language that I use at work and it is the one that feeds me ah and purple is Italian in my heart because it is the language that I have learnt due to the relationship with my husband and Spanish is in my legs because it is the language I use in my everyday life to move**

Her lived experience of language, however, is more complex as she tells me her story during the interviews. In the following, I go back to the previous themes, migration and multilingualism (and English), as she talks about her experience and her time in school A.

5.3.2. Migration and language: exclusion and otherness through language choice

Pilar moved to the Island age 2 with her parents from Cordoba (Andalusia), who were trying to find better job opportunities. The dominant language at home was always Spanish and she tells me that they were pejoratively tagged as 'xarnegus' on the Island, i.e., non-native population migrating from the south of Spain.

Extract 5. 3

Pilar: **Els meus pares van venir aquí quan jo tenia dos anys i van venir perquè un conco meu feia feina aquí i:**

Researcher: **des d'on**

Pilar: **de Córdoba / noltros de tota sa vida som xarnegus perquè clar aquí**

Researcher: **vos han etiquetat així?**

Pilar: **sí / no directament supòs que perquè quan era petita n'hi havia molts / jo anava a {name of school} i {name of school} n'hi havia molts però després {name of school} va fer es projecte British i s'alumnat va canviar perquè moltes famílies van anar a demanar anar allà i després va canviar tot aquest sistema de: / no es concentraven allà / quan jo era petita era igual que es nostro més o menos erm no amb magrebins perquè no n'hi havia però es gitanos i es xungos anaven allà jo no ho era però eh xunga {laughing}**

Translation

Pilar: **My parents came here when I was two years old and they came because an uncle of mine was working here and:**

Researcher: **from where**

Pilar: **from Cordoba / we have always been xarnegus because here of course:**

Researcher: **you got that label?**

Pilar: **yes / not directly probably because when I was a child there were a lot / I went to {name of school} and in {name of school} there were a lot but then {name of school} started with the British program and the students changed because a lot of families asked to go there and then it changed all this system of / they didn't end up all there / when I was a child that school was like ours more or less erm without maghrebis because there weren't any but gypsies and chavs went all there I was not chav though {laughing}**

‘Xarnegu’ is a derogatory way to talk about Spanish people on the Island (normally coming from the South of Spain). In the previous account, Pilar describes her experience of language in school. She compares it to her school now where she works as a teacher and the lived experience of children that she teaches and tells me that now it is different, because teachers only use Catalan to them:

Extract 5. 4

Pilar: **ara és diferent ara a escola es mestres no canviam sa llengu si un fillet te xerra castellà no tenim aquella tendència a erm quan jo anava a escola sí tothom me xerrava amb castellà**

Translation

Pilar: **now it is different now at school teachers don’t change the language when a child speaks to you in Spanish we don’t have that tendency to erm when I was at school yes everyone was speaking to me in Spanish**

Her experience with Catalan is representative of many children with the same background that lived migration in the 80s and 90s coming from the South of Spain. It was and it is often normal to change to Spanish with someone with migrant background. Many Islanders would say that this language change is due to politeness and because Spanish is a stronger language, while for foreigners, this means otherness and exclusion.

Extract 5. 5

Pilar: **quan era petita xerrava castellà i ja està jo vaig començar a xerrar català quan tenia 18 anys vaig començar a xerrar a sa carrera de magisteri i encara no en xerrava** después **vaig anar a fer feina a un banc a {name of a town} i vaig dir ara** o ahora o nunca **i:**

Researcher: **pero perquè**

Pilar: **no ho sé no m’havia fet falta supòs i me sentia un poc ridícula i: sa gent me canviava s’idioma directament vull dir no m’ha fet falta**

Translation

Pilar: **when I was a child I spoke Spanish and nothing else I started to speak Catalan when I was 18 years old I started to speak it in the undergraduate degree and I still didn’t speak it / after that I went to work to a bank in {name of a town} and I told myself now** it is now or never **and**

Researcher: **but why**

Pilar: **I don't know I never needed it and I felt a bit ridiculous and people changed language immediately I mean I didn't need it**

The feeling of ridicule is often reported among Spanish people speaking Catalan and this is a question of accent, related to a dominant standard ideology. In her struggle to be recognised as a legitimate speaker of Catalan, she had to start from scratch and felt the need to erase her origins.

Extract 5. 6

Pilar: **jo no ho havia pensat mai però no sé en aquell moment que jo volia ser mestre i estudiava per ser mestre i clar me feia falta jo me vaig donar compte a ses pràctiques quan jo vaig començar ses pràctiques jo encara no en xerrava tant ni molt menos no realment no sé si ni xerrava me'n record que sa mestra me canviava sa llengu i aquella si que me feia ràbia**

Researcher: **en castellà?**

Pilar: **sí en castellà i jo pensava però com és que me canvia sa llengu si jo l'entenc**

Researcher: **i com és**

Pilar: **no sé perquè jo l'entenia però ella es dirigia a jo en castellà i jo pensava per què saps? i jo li deia me pots xerrar en català no me'n record si jo li deia en castellà no tenc aquest concepte de si jo li deia com però me feia ràbia d'açò sí que me'n record {laughing} però quan vaig anar a fer feina a es banc vaig pensar aquí no me coneix ningú no me farà vergonya i me vaig amollar i ja me va anar bé i després arrel d'allà a sa gent que xerrava {Catalan variety on the Island} ja li xerrava {Catalan variety on the Island} es castellà ja no l'emprava amb segons qui i és ver i jo tenc una amiga de {name of local village} bé de {name of local village} i xerram amb castellà i de vegades pens pff que és ridícul però ja no me surt i en canvi hi ha una altra que també la vaig conèixer xerrant castellà però ella no canvia**

Translation

Pilar: **I never thought that but I don't know at that moment that I wanted to be a teacher and I was studying to be a teacher and of course I needed it I realised in the practicum when I started the practicum I still didn't speak it so much not**

at all well actually I don't remember if I used it I remember that the teacher changed languages with me and I hated that she did it

Researcher: **to Spanish?**

Pilar: **yes to Spanish and I was thinking why she is changing the language if I can understand**

Researcher: **and why is that**

Pilar: **I don't know because I understood her but she addressed to me in Spanish and I was thinking why you know? and I told her you can speak to me in Catalan I don't remember if I told her that in Spanish I don't have this concept of what did I use to say what but I hated it / that I remember {laughing} but when I went to work at the bank I thought here no one knows me I won't feel ashamed and I relaxed with it and it was good for me and then thanks to that I started to speak {Catalan variety on the Island} to the people that spoke {Catalan variety on the Island} and I didn't use Spanish depending on who that's true because I have a friend from {name of local village} completely from {name of local village} and we speak in Spanish and sometimes I think pff that is ridiculous but it doesn't come out otherwise and on the other hand there is another friend that I also met speaking in Spanish but she she doesn't**

In this experience of language, Pilar felt discriminated as an adult. This was especially so when trying to build her identity as a teacher, a figure that, due to the language policies, should always speak Catalan and moreover 'correct' Catalan.

Extract 5. 7

Pilar: **jo no sé però mai m'he sentit discriminada avam a sa universitat sí molt perquè tenia un mestre de: un profe de català clar jo som** {surname} **i** {surname} **i clar són molt castellans i aquell me suspenia cada any**

Researcher: **en serio**

Pilar: **sí: sempre me suspenia s'oral de fet es darrer quadrimestre vaig anar me vaig apuntar a classes de català i vaig arribar allà i me diuen tu a què véns aquí i res bé es final vaig aprovar però mai m'he sentit** bueno **amb sa de ses pràctiques sí es final me va posar menys nota que s'altra i jo crec que tenia cosa a veure i es no ser d'aquí també**

Translation

Pilar: **I don't know but I never felt discriminated I mean in university yes a lot because I had a teacher of- a teacher of Catalan that I mean I am** {surname} **and** {surname} **and they are very Spanish and he failed me every year**

Researcher: **really**

Pilar: **yes he always failed me the oral exam actually in the last semester I signed up for Catalan classes and when I arrived they asked me why are you coming here and well in the end I passed but I have never felt well in the practicum at the end he put me a lower grade than my colleague and I think it might have had something to do with that and the fact that I am not from here**

She relates her experience to the experience of some children in the school, but she says that there are some that feel it more than others. She thinks that the newcomers get there unmotivated and sad:

Extract 5. 8

Pilar: **Quan arriben es desanimen molt un fiet s'altre dia me va dir** es que yo en marruecos hacia las cosas muy bien y sacaba muy buenas notas sabía todo **i jo li dic** no te preocupes que cuando tengas el idioma pues te va a ir mejor pero tienes que tener paciencia e ir poco a poco nosotros te vamos a ayudar en todo **però clar ell se sent clar tu imagina t'amollen a un altre país que no entens res tu allà pots ser tot lo bo que vulguis però si aquí no te pots comunicar**

Translation

Pilar: **When they arrive they get very upset the other day a child told me** but I in Morocco I did things very well and I got good grades I knew everything **and I told him** don't worry when you have the language then things will go better but you must be patient and go step by step we will help you in everything **but I mean he feels I mean you imagine if they put you in another country where you don't understand anything you can be as good as you want but if you cannot communicate here**

In the story of this child, we can see a story of struggle, but also how the child is related to Spanish and not Catalan. This is seen in the teacher changing to Spanish when representing what he told her, that is, his voice. This is because Spanish is often the first language children learn, but then, they become stuck in the Spanish box and no one addresses them in Catalan. This is what the teacher was trying to say about language choice earlier, that is, the fact that people switches to Spanish and do not keep on speaking Catalan. This indexes exclusion and

otherness, as they are not legitimized as Catalan speakers, regardless of their proficiency in the language.

5.3.3. Multilingualism: in the search of a linguistic repertoire that fits

How to construct a linguistic repertoire that fits seems to be an issue for the children. The teacher thinks it helps the newcomers to know that there are people from around the world in school A and they relax a bit as soon as they realise and meet the other children. However, the children seem to stick to the institutional languages in school:

Extract 5. 9

Researcher: **i ells vos xerren en cat-**

Pilar: **depèn si saben ses paraules sí si no no**

Researcher: **xerren en castellà**

Pilar: **si però depèn aquest fiet mateix avui me diu havien de jugar a no sé què i m'ha dit** "yo habia dicho **quart" {laughing} vull dir que lo que sap sí que ho empren però clar no en sap molt**

Translation

Researcher: **and they speak to you in cat-**

Pilar: **it depends if they know the words yes if not no**

Researcher: **they speak in Spanish**

Pilar: **yes but it depends this child I was telling you about today he told me that they had to play I don't know what and he told me "**I said a **quarter" {laughing} I mean that what they know they use it but they don't know much**

The children translanguage between Catalan and Spanish, this is normal for the newcomers learning the languages, but it is also normal with bilingual children on the islands. However, translanguaging in Catalan and Spanish is frowned upon and not encouraged in school or outside, both languages exist in separate compartments for people there. In the English and CLIL class, however, translanguaging is commonplace and seems to be a legitimate practice:

Extract 5. 10

Pilar: **Quan els hi deman fer treballs ells poden triar sa llengu moltes vegades ho escriuen amb anglès i m'ho expliquen en anglès és molt xistós vull dir ells tot lo que escriuen ho escriuen en anglès o amb dues llengus i després ho expliquen**

en català però ho expliquen en català i mesclen paraules en anglès és que és una passada i ells sempre m'ho diuen amb quin idioma ho hem de fer i jo com vulgueu i ells sempre ho escriuen en anglès i ho expliquen en català

Translation

Pilar: **when they have to do something for school they can choose the language very often they write it in English and they explain it in English they are very funny I mean everything they write they write in English or in two languages and then they explain it in Catalan but they explain it in Catalan and they mix words in English it is great and they always ask me what language do we have to use and I say as you want and they always write it in English and explain it in Catalan**

Despite of the granted legitimacy, the label 'funny' given to this practice still shows the dominant monolingual ideology that circulates in the school, but the status of English somehow seems to not enter the competition between Catalan and Spanish and therefore the struggle to keep them separate does not have the same weight in the English and CLIL classes:

Extract 5. 11

Pilar: **Ells saben frases com a fetes no per exemple ara feim plantes pues ells jo els hi explic** *plants during the day need oxygen* **ells lo que diuen molt són paraules en català què expulsen ses plantes durant es dia i ells diuen** *oxygen* **no diuen oxigen diuen** *oxygen* **i es vespre no sé què i ells no diuen diòxid de carboni diuen** *carbon dioxid* **i ni es plantegen que no sigui: vull dir ni es donen compte que ho diuen en anglès però després que te facin una frase costa més i a més és que són molt xistosos perquè t'estan xerrant i te diuen és que açò no ho entenc perquè aquí a ses** *leaves* **no sé què i t'ho diuen t'ho mostren i no se'n donen compte que en ves de dir fulles han dit** *leaves* **i a jo me fan molta gràcia perquè ho fan natural o a s'examen {laughing} i no se'n donen compte i a vegades que ses mestres de català i castellà me diuen que en comptes de posar** "y" **posen** *"and"* **o** *"but"* **i no es donen compte jo crec que vale ahir una mare me demanava i tu creus que es British els hi va bé i jo li dic mira jo lo que veig és que hi ha fiets i es preparen tot s'any per fer British i no se'n donen compte**

Translation

Pilar: **They know sentences like chunks for example now we are doing plants so they I explain to them** *plants during the day need oxygen* **they what they say a lot is**

words in Catalan what do plants release during the day and they say *oxygen* **they don't say oxygen they say** *oxygen* **and at night and they don't say carbon dioxid they say** *carbon dioxid* **and they don't even think that it is not I mean they don't realise that they say it in English but then that they make a whole sentence is more difficult and they are very funny because they are speaking to you and they say this I don't understand because here the** *leaves* **and whatever and they don't say they show it to you and they don't realise that instead of saying leaves they have said** *leaves* **and to me this is funny because they do it naturally or in the exam {laughing} and they don't realise and sometimes the teachers of Catalan and Spanish tell me that instead of writing** "y" **{in Spanish} they use** *"and"* **or** *"but"* **and they don't realise I think that ok a mother yesterday asked me whether I think that the British program can work well and I say look I think that children prepare themselves for the British program here all year and they don't realise**

The use of technical vocabulary in the target language is a normal practice in CLIL (Rieder-Bünemann, Hüttner & Smit 2018). However, different affective practices (other than laughter) seem to be elicited when multilingualism escapes the institutional languages, that is, when multilingualism includes children's home languages, for example. This might be the reason why children seem to erase the home language in school and struggle to construct an identity that fits:

Extract 5. 12

Pilar: **mhm no jo no els sent tal vegada a es pati entre ells pot ser sí però no gaire no és una cosa que sentin pes passadís que xerrin àrab i jo crec que jo com a adulta sí que ho faria però ells no ho fan però ells empren castellà**

Researcher: **ni mencionen que xerrin una altra llengua?**

Pilar: **depèn si tu els hi demanes sí mira jo de vegades a aquest fiet li dic avam** dime **com es diu amb sa teva llengu**

Researcher: **li has demanat?**

Pilar: **sí perquè de vegades quan el veig tan apurat**

Researcher: **i d'on és**

Pilar: **és marroquí és més sí bereber me pens i li dic avam tu m'entens de lo que esteim xerrant i saps açò i me diu** sí pero no sé la palabra **i dic** pues escríbela en tu lengua **i clar com que jo tenc traductors perquè jo en tenc molts dic avam** no es que

tampoco la sé **o de vegades sí que la diu i li dic a un altre avam que diu** creo que es ésta pero creo que no lo está diciendo bien porque esta palabra significa no sé qué **i surt s'altre** no porque esto se dice así **i entre ells sí que hi- n'hi ha molts que ni la coneixen amb sa seva llengu vull dir que n'hi ha molts que ja que se'ls hi oblida no l'empren tant i jo crec que se'ls hi oblida jo vaig tenir un pare fa: l'any passat d'un fiet de sisè i me va xocar molt diu** y vosotros **però voltros** en qué idioma hablais en casa **me diu** no no solo castellano **i era era un marroquí i jo** cómo? **i diu** sí sí es que si no {name of a child} no me entiende

Researcher: quién?

Pilar: el hijo pero tu le hablas en castellano sí sí es que si no no me entiende **i jo vaig flipar però en canvi sa filla sí / vull dir que s'acostumen i ja no se'n recorden o bonu no els interessa jo crec que no els interessa tal vegada és aquesta sensació de voler ser d'aquí no? que ni empren jo no els sent a es pati xerrar amb àrab no els sent no ho sé**

Translation

Pilar: **mhm I don't hear them but maybe in the playground among them maybe they do but not that much it is not something that is heard in the corridors that they speak Arabic and I think that me as an adult I would do it but they don't do it but they use Spanish**

Researcher: **they don't even mention that they speak another language?**

Pilar: **it depends if you ask them yes look I sometimes to this child I tell him to say it in his language**

Researcher: **have you asked him?**

Pilar: **yes because sometimes I see him so lost**

Researcher: **and where is he from?**

Pilar: **he is Moroccan and Berber I think and I ask him whether he understands what we are talking about and if he knows that and he tells me** yes but I don't know the word **and I say** then write it in your language **and you know because I have a lot of translators because I have a lot of them I ask them** I don't know either **or sometimes they say it and I ask someone else** I think this is correct but I think he is not saying it right because this worked means I don't know what **and then someone else goes** no because this is not like this **and among them there are a lot**

that don't even know the word in their language I mean there are a lot that have already forgotten it they don't use it a lot and I think they forget it I had a father of a child from last year in Y6 and it was shocking what he told me and you **but you** in what language do you speak at home **and he tells me** no no only Spanish **and he was a Moroccan and I go** pardon? **and he says** yes yes because otherwise {name of a child} doesn't understand me

Researcher: who?

Pilar: the son but you speak to him in Spanish yes yes because otherwise he doesn't understand me **and I was shocked but on the other hand the daughter yes / I mean they get used to it and they don't remember or well they are not interested I think they are not interested maybe it is this feeling of wanting to belong here you know? that they don't even use or I don't hear them in the playground using Arabic I don't hear them I don't know**

Despite of the erasure and the shame of speaking another language at home (as seen in the last story that Pilar is reporting), children represent their home languages in their language portraits and a sense of pride is also felt when they do so. In the following section, I introduce some of the children informing this study using their language portraits, questionnaires and data recorded during the observations.

5.4. Meeting group A

5.4.1. Introduction

Group A is the first group in school A to start a CLIL program from their first compulsory year in Primary school (age 5/6) and they will complete this stage with the same program, studying a content subject (3 hours a week) through the medium of English. I first met the group in the Science class, they were then in Y4 and most of them were around 9 years old.

> Pilar usually teaches English and CLIL in what they call "the English classroom". Today I observed my first CLIL class with group A in this classroom. They came back from the break and as they were going in through the door some of them asked "what do we have now? English or Science? The teacher told me later that they often get confused because sometimes she uses materials of English in Science and viceversa. For her, this is an advantage because she is the teacher of both the language subject and the content subject and she can balance the teaching of language and content, but at the same time she often gets identified as the EFL teacher and not as

> a content teacher. When the students are settled the teacher introduces me (I am sitting at the back of the class) and I present myself and the purpose of my research in Catalan, my mother tongue. They look at me shyly while I stand up and move to place a recorder in the middle of every group of 4. While I am arranging the recorders they introduce themselves to me in English, some just saying their names, others giving more information like age, and likes and dislikes, just as if it was an English class exercise and as if they wanted to show me proudly what they can do with the language. In this way, I get positioned as another English teacher. When they finish the round of introductions, I give them the opportunity to ask me questions, however they are too shy to do it yet. The class starts and I go back to sit at the back of the class with my notebook. (Fieldnotes – April, 2016)

In the first encounter with them I get a list with their names and Pilar helps me locate each of them while I draw my first classroom map. Below I will zoom in the group to present some of the main voices of the ethnography.

5.4.2. Zooming in the group through subjectivities

In this section, I will present the seven primary cases of the study. I sketch here a summary of the data I get from the questionnaires, language portraits and observations. This section is only descriptive and does not aim at analysing the data, but just introducing the voices of my ethnography. The classroom map below, which is part of my fieldnotes (06/04/2017), shows the arrangement of the classroom when the group first do the language portrait activity.

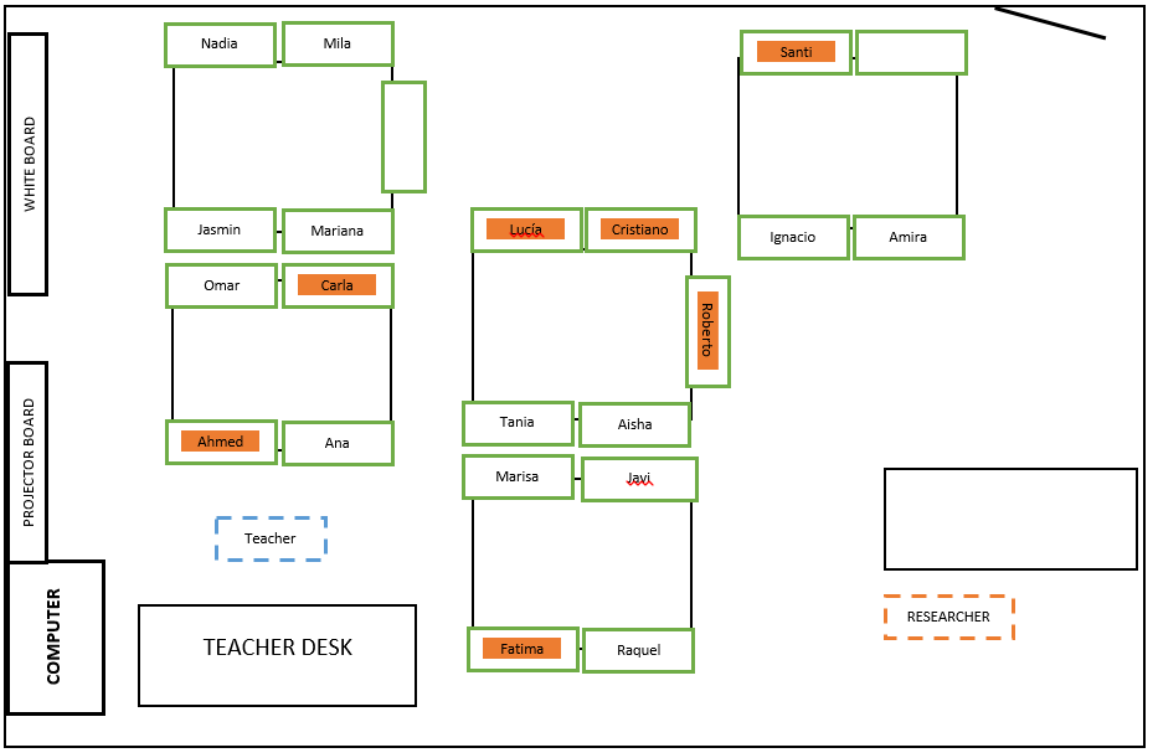

Figure 8. Classroom map group A

The group of Santi is represented in this map, although he and his group of three are not present on that day and they do the language portrait together on the following day. They did not choose the groups, they sit as they normally do and both the teacher and me (the researcher tag in the classroom map) move around. There is a recorder in the middle of each group and my key informants (in orange) have either a pinned microphone or are close to a recorder. In what follows I zoom in the cases of Lucía, Carlos, Carla, Santi, Ahmed, Cristiano, Fatima. I structure their presentations with the information I get about how they think about languages, how they use languages and how they feel about languages in a descriptive account. Analytical approaches to the same data will follow in subsequent chapters. This section functions only as an introduction to the main participants of the ethnography.

5.4.2.1. Lucía and Carlos

Lucía and Carlos are the protagonists of the analysis in chapter 8, so here I introduce them briefly. Lucía speaks Romanian at home and speaks the institutional languages in school, she does not refer to Romanian or use it in school, except for the moment when she does the language portraits. She uses Romanian in the comment of her last portrait together with Fatima who uses Arabic to describe the drawing. Otherwise, she refers to teachers (and other figures of authority in school) in Catalan or a mix of Catalan and Spanish. In the Spanish

class and with her peers, she speaks Spanish and in the English class she uses a mix of all three languages, using mainly English for technical terms or key vocabulary. She is very enthusiastic and invested in her learning, but constantly moving, and not depicted as a good student by teachers.

Carlos on the other hand, is described as a successful and smart student. He always speaks Spanish, except for in the Catalan class, when he is on task. In the English and CLIL class when on task and when his proficiency level allows, he uses English. Carlos' family is Colombian and he boasts in front of his friends when they are doing the portrait that if he speaks Colombian no one will understand him, especially if he swears in Colombian. The others dare him to try this out, but he never acts on it in front of my recorders.

Both of them love English and are preparing to do the Trinity college exam that the school offers. Lucía and Carlos' portraits are presented and analysed in chapter 8 through an affective practice approach and their cases are more detailed in that section.

5.4.2.2. Carla

Carla was born on the Island, but her father is from Barcelona (Catalonia) and her mother from Buenos Aires (Argentina). Her dad speaks Catalan and her mother Spanish, both with their regional variants. The parents are divorced, and so seem to be Carla's language(s), since she tells me that she speaks Catalan to her dad and Spanish to her mother. Besides, Carla is an *anime* enthusiast and that is why she is interested in learning Japanese. The teacher tells me in an interview that the family do not have very high economic resources and she does not get extra tutoring, but Carla says that she teaches herself Japanese watching shows. She is the student that always has the right answer, and teachers know that, which results in relying on her when no one else knows the answer. However, her bids to answer are also frequently ignored, because otherwise no one else would get the chance to answer. She is always the quickest to raise the hand but it stays in the air until several others have tried. Her answers are bookish in the sense that she does not use her own words, but has memorized what is in the textbook, often asking whether she can say it in Spanish in the CLIL class. One day in CLIL, she seemed a bit lost, and I found out that the previous day she could not prepare for class. Then, I realised that she usually goes over the book topic with her mother before she comes to class. This means that she translates content with her and she is ready to answer all the questions in Spanish. She thinks that English is 'not bad', and that a lot of people use it to communicate with foreigners.

In her first language portrait she records the comment in the separate room alone and presents herself as follows:

Extract 5. 13

Carla: me llamo Carla y / empecemos con el inglés el inglés he elegido el color verde porque es el color del libro del año pasado y me hace acordar que desde que desde pequeña hablaba / aprendí inglés / después lo tengo en la cab- y lo tengo en las extremidades porque a veces cuando no sé cómo decir algo intento interpretarlo y entonces claro uso mucho las extremidades / después / el catalán he elegido el rojo porque es que no sabía qué color ponerle y elegí el rojo porque es el / color que uso / en la libreta para hacer los ejercicios y todo / y lo tengo en el torso porque / porque es como si está dentro de mi interior porque mi padre habla catalán y entonces lo llevo adentro después castellano / elegí naranja igual porque el catalán porque es el que uso en la libreta para hacer ejercicios y todo / y después lo tengo en la cabeza porque es en el que pienso hablo y todo el que me hace más fácil

Translation

Carla: my name is Carla and / let's start with English English I have chosen colour green because it is the colour of the book we used last year and it reminds me that since I was a child I was speaking / I learnt English / then I have it in my hea- and I have it in my extremities because sometimes when I don't know how to say something I try to interpret it and then obviously I use a lot more my extremities / then / Catalan I have chosen red because I didn't know what colour to use and I chose red because it is / the colour I use / in the notebook to do my homework and all / and I have it in my torso because / because it is like if it is inside of me because my father speaks Catalan and then I carry it inside then Spanish / I chose orange the same as Catalan because I use it for my notebook where I do the exercises and everything / and then I have it in my head because it is in the language I think and speak and all it is easiest one for me

A year later, she introduces a heart in her portrait and she chooses Catalan this time to explain it, but it is probably because she is now telling it to me and not recording by herself to the recorder. In any case, these choices present her as a bilingual speaker.

Figure 9. Carla's language portrait

5.4.2.3. Santi

Santi was born on the Islands as well as his dad, who can speak both Spanish and Catalan. His mother is from the Philippines and she speaks Tagalog and Spanish. Santi includes only Spanish and Catalan as his languages in the questionnaire, although he includes English in his portrait too. In the future, Santi would like to learn Tagalog, Chinese and Japanese. He likes English and he thinks about it positively, because if he travels to London he will be able to communicate there.

Santi was not present the day of the language portraits, so he did his with Ignacio the day after. Santi and Ignacio were recorded during the task and explained their portrait in an interview format. Both of them are very quiet students, they only talk when they are asked and Santi is one of the 'best students' according to the teachers. The teachers think that Santi can speak Tagalog and that this is an advantage for him and attribute his 'good' aptitude in languages to the knowledge of a home language; clearly, the teachers are unaware of the fact that Santi does not, in fact, speak Tagalog. His mother tries to teach him, but it is too difficult for him, as he tells me in the interview. He wishes to learn it in the future and he includes it shyly as part of his identity. The feelings of embarrassment are clear when Santi realises that most other children can speak the languages of their parents. His classmates identify him as Spanish-speaking only person, and they tease him saying that he will draw everything in the same colour, the colour for Spanish. In fact, he hesitates to include English, because he cannot hold a conversation with an English person, as he tells Ignacio while doing the

language portrait. He speaks Catalan to the teachers and other authority figures in school, but with his peers, Spanish is indeed his normal mode.

Extract 5. 14

Santi: hola me llamo Santi tengo once años y: las tres lenguas son castellano catalán e inglés / castellano erm lo he puesto rojo porque es el color que más me gusta y la lengua que más me gusta y por eso lo he puesto arriba / luego el catalán lo he puesto verde / porque es otro color que me gusta pero no tanto como el rojo y el catalán la lengua lo mismo y lo he puesto en medio y luego el inglés azul / y que lo he puesto por abajo por las piernas

Translation

Santi: hi I am Santi and I am 11 years old and the three languages are Spanish Catalan and English / Spanish erm I have it in red because it is the colour I like the most and the language that I like the most and because of that I have it in the upper part / then I have Catalan I have it in green / because it is another colour that I like but not as much as red and Catalan the language the same and I have it in the middle and then English in blue / and I have it in the lower part on the legs

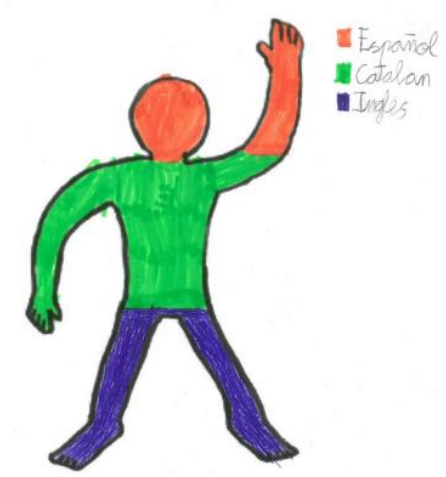

Figure 10. Santi's language portrait

5.4.2.4. Ahmed

Ahmed is a year older than the rest of the class, this is because he arrived at the age of 5 on the Island and had to learn Spanish and Catalan before he could be with the rest of students in school subjects. He says that Catalan was hard to learn, but if he wants, he can speak 'good' Catalan. He, as well as his parents, was born in Morocco. His parents speak mainly Arabic, and his father also speaks Spanish. Ahmed, in his own estimate, can speak Arabic, Spanish, Catalan, English and a bit of French. In the future he wants to learn German and he likes English a lot because it is a language that a lot of people speaks: "es una lengua que

molta gente **parla**", he tells me mixing Spanish and Catalan. He normally hangs out with other Arabic children and he is regarded as an unsuccessful student by the teachers, but also by his peers, who make some comments on his 'bad' Spanish and about him failing exams.

In the comment of his first portrait he goes to the library with Omar and when it is his turn, he presents himself as follows:

Extract 5. 15

Ahmed: a mí me gusta árabe porque es mi lengua / y también puedo puedo: rezar con ella / en catalán a mí me gustan- me gusta mucho catalán porque porque: porque me gusta la ñ que: como **na Paula** i: #lala# i cosas asín y también inglés *how are you to be* y algo asín *hello* es un idioma que me gusta mucho mucho y francés francés sé hablar muy poco porque en en árabe tenemos dos lenguas tenemos árabe y francés y matemáticas y ya está / en castellano suelo suelo hablar mucho en castellano y también en Sus Sus es la lengua de mi madre y: de mi padre y ya está

Translation

Ahmed: I like Arabic because it is my language / and I can also pray with it / in Catalan Catalan I like- I like Catalan a lot because because: because I like the ñ that like **na Paula** a:nd #lala# and things and also English *how are you to be* and something like this *hello* it is a language that I like very very much and French I can speak very little because in Arabic we have two language Arabic and French and Maths and that's it / in Spanish I normally normally speak a lot in Spanish and also in Sousse it is the language of my mother and my father and that's it

A year later, he goes again with Omar to record his comment, and this time, he adds Sousse, Shilha and Portuguese (Brazilian). Sousse is a Berber region in Tunisia and Chelja, in English Shilha, is a Berber language. Ahmed adds Portuguese because he says that Cristiano has taught him a few words.

Extract 5. 16

Ahmed: erm {laughing} / como veis he pintado árabe de color verde erm que: / porque árabe lo oigo desde hace mucho tiempo cuando era pequeño si siempre hablaba en inglé- en árabe y español español cuando iba a P3 no sabía nada hasta hasta P5 ya sé unas palabras y voy avanzando con con el español / y catalán catalán me costó me costó un poco un poco en primero en segundo en tercero pero en cuarto y quinto y sexto / iba bien y Sus y Chelja los he pintado de- Chelja de lila y Sus de naranja porque mis padres porque mis padres me enseñaron algunas palabras cómo se escribe y etcétera

/ brasileño sé un poquito porque Cristiano mi amigo Cristiano me enseñó un poco como decir hola o adiós y: etcétera / y este ha sido mi retrato

Translation

Ahmed: erm {laughing} / as you can see I have coloured Arabic in green erm tha:t / because I hear Arabic since a long time ago when I was a child yes I was always speaking in eng- in Arabic and Spanish Spanish when I was in P3 I didn't know nothing until P5 then I knew a few words and I am progressing with with Spanish / and Catalan Catalan was hard it was a bit hard for me in Y1 in Y2 and Y3 but then in Y4 and Y5 and Y6 / I was doing well and Souss and Shilha I have in- Shilha in purple and Souss in orange because my parents taught me some words how to write and etcetera / Brazilian I know a bit because Cristiano my friend Cristiano taught me a bit like how to say hello and etcetera / and that is my portrait

Figure 11. Ahmed's language portrait

5.4.2.5. Cristiano

Cristiano was also born on the Island, but his mother is Brazilian and his father is from Mallorca, in Spain. He presents himself as a speaker of Spanish, Catalan, English and Portuguese (Brazilian). He went to Brazil to visit his family the summer before the study began and there he learnt a lot of Brazilian Portuguese. Nevertheless, he does not seem to use it at home, and after my study he is upset because he has forgotten how to use it. He speaks Spanish with his mother now, unlike his older brother who speaks Brazilian with her, but does not live with them and the only contact seems to be by phone. In the future, Cristiano says he wants to learn Japanese and he thinks that English is a very effective language because in almost all countries "they speak their original language plus English", he says.

“It will help you if you don’t know their native language”. In class he is not very popular, but people respect him, except for some girls who like to tease him, like Lucía who is often sitting next to him. Cristiano also tries to constantly tease his classmates but his jokes are too sophisticated and do not sound funny to anyone else. Carlos says about Cristiano that he is so “freaky” that he can only understand his own jokes. To me, he is very creative and I think he consumes a lot of media. In his jokes or comments he often reproduces sexist discourses “las damas primero” (=ladies first) or racist comments “Ahmed se cree Suárez y no sabe ni hablar bien español” (=Ahmed thinks he is Suarez and he cannot even speak good Spanish). His jokes are never followed with laughter, but he does not seem to care and he also does not seem to want to hurt or offend with them.

Figure 12. Cristiano's language portrait

Cristiano goes to the library on his own and with the recorder in one hand and his portrait in the other, this is how he presents himself.

Extract 5. 17

Cristiano: mi **nom es Cristiano y el meu dibuix és** así erm **es cap i un poc de ses mans són de:: Espanya** hablo mhm **bastant** español **però no els- els punts dels** dets de- / erm **de ses mans les puntes de ses mans són de França no** habl- no hablo mucho francés también un poco de la mano de de abajo es italiana no tanto / como medio piernas son de Cataluña / ya bajando a los pies son de Inglaterra inglés / un pie es de México que hablo un poco español México y el otro no es nada y la mitad del torso es de Brasil en casa y en otras partes hablo mucho brasileño / y ah sí porque a veces pienso bastante en español erm casi siempre lo hago en brasileño pero mi familia habla brasileño es la que más tengo y la familia que aún más me dura / y la hablo más con mi madre con mi padre hablo español / y erm / catalán lo uso en la escuela inglés también español

también mhm no mucho y: / en el pie derecho no tengo nada porque {laughing} no sé otro idioma

Translation

Cristiano: me **name is Cristiano and my drawing is** like this erm **the head and a bit of my hands are in Spanish** I speak mhm **a lot of** Spanish **but not the- the tips of** the fingers in erm **the hands the tips of the hands are in French** I sp- I don't speak a lot of French also a bit of the lower hand is Italian not a lot / like half the legs are from Catalonia / and down feet are from England English / and a foot is from Mexico that I speak a little bit of Mexico and the other one is nothing and half the torso is Brazil at home and other parts I speak a lot of Brazilian / and ah because sometimes I think in Spanish erm but almost always I do it in Brazilian but my family is Brazilian the one that I have more and the one that I still have / I speak more with my mum with my dad I speak Spanish/ and erm / Catalan I use it in school English and Spanish too also mhm not a lot a:nd / in my right foot I don't have anything because {laughing} I can't speak any other language

5.4.2.6. Fatima

Fatima was born on the Island and her parents in Morocco. She is one of the most proficient students in the Arabic language, according to the teachers and herself. Someone teaches her Arabic in her family and they use it regularly at home. She presents herself as a speaker of Spanish, Catalan, English and Arabic, and she decides to explain her comment on the language portrait in Arabic. However, the importance of Arabic seems to decrease in her story, and she tells me by the end of the study that Arabic is not so important then. In the future she wants to learn German and she thinks it is ok that they learn English because in English you can communicate with people from other countries because people can speak English all around the world.

Figure 13. Fatima's language portrait

I present herself with the explanation of her portrait during our first interview. She is in the library with Lucía and I ask them both to elaborate on their language portraits. This is how she presents herself to me.

Extract 5. 18

Fatima: **jo he posat català àrab castellà i anglès / el àrab i el castellà les he posat les he posat un poquet igual de** cantidad **perquè erm parlo cata- ai àrab i castellà erm en casa i inglès l'he posat un poquet i català també perquè no parlo molt i i en en casa tampoc parlo molt només a l'escola i:: // i:: // erm castellà ai àrab l'he posat damunt perquè jo vaig néixer aquí però parlo més àrab que castellà i em sembla que és més que- em- que: que m'agrada més àrab que castellà**

Lucía: {laughing}

Fatima: **i castellà l'he posat com la segona** len- **llengu que parlo i anglès un poquet / i català un poquet menys**

Translation

Fatima: **I have Catalan Arabic Spanish and English / and Arabic and Spanish I have I have more or less the same amount because erm I speak Cata- ah Arabic and Spanish erm at home and English I have a bit and Catalan too because I don't speak a lot and and at home I don't speak a lot either only in school a:nd // a:nd // erm Spanish ah Arabic I have it up because I was born here but I speak more Arabic than Spanish and I think that it is more- tha:t that I like Arabic more than Spanish**

Lucía: {laughing}

Fatima: **and Spanish I have like a second lang- language that I speak and English a bit / a:nd Catalan a bit less**

5.5. Conclusion

In this chapter, I have depicted different elements that are necessary to understand the complexity of multilingualism at school using a descriptive analysis of school A. By introducing the teacher and the voices of the ethnography by zooming into telling cases, I have provided an introduction to the main analytical chapters that follow. There are different themes that seem to intersect in this complexity and could be used as lenses to look at the data that I analyse in the subsequent chapters (e.g., race, religion, language, etc.). However, in this thesis, I focus on language at the intersection of ideologies, legitimate language practices and affect.

6. Discourses

6.1. Introduction

In this chapter, I turn to dominant discourses that children draw on when talking about their multilingual self, multilingualism and language. This chapter thus, reports on a discursive-ideological dimension of language and multilingualism at school, that is, which discourses, values, beliefs, and attitudes define language and multilingualism in a particular context.

In the theoretical framework, I have talked about three orientations to language and multilingualism that are dominant in education. The view of multilingualism and linguistic diversity as a problem, right and resource have been mentioned as part of the repertoire of discourses to refer to linguistic diversity and multilingualism in education. These discourses, that have permeated schools through history to the present, lead to an ideology of keeping languages as separate which often guides teaching practices and school curricula, while moulding the multilingual children's lived experience of language.

6.2. A modernist view of language: crafting an ideology of languages as separate

6.2.1. Problematizing multilingualism in school

The representation of language as a problem is embedded in modernist views of language, "notably those forms organized by the nation state, define much of multilingualism as problematic" (Blommaert, Leppänen & Spotti 2012: 2). This materializes in schools in the assumption of homogeneity, or what Gogolin (1997) calls the myth of homogeneity: "To be more precise, the teaching relies on the assumption that the children all grow up within the bounds of the same social class, culture or ethnic group and language." (Gogolin 1997: 40).

In the myth of homogeneity, diversity in society is made invisible. Gogolin (1997) argues that this assumption is founded on the conviction that monolingualism (in society and school) is the one and only normality and that it becomes a habit to assume that monolingualism is the norm in a nation. She calls this 'the monolingual habitus' and affirms that the creation of all nations and the foundation of their public school systems where established under this assumption. Behind the creation of nation states was the principle of linguistic homogenisation: "the establishment of one national language and of a monolingual national society honouring one standard form of a language" (Gogolin 1997: 41). This principle directs language perceptions, attitudes and activities of the teachers in schools.

(Gogolin 1997: 41). Therefore, she argues that this assumption is an intrinsic element of the professional habitus of teachers, since they are members of the nation state school system.

The desire of homogeneity as enacted in the monolingual habitus is at the basis of conceptualising linguistic diversity as a problem. The underlying assumption being that homogeneity and standardization are the guarantee for success. The language that we are talking about here is the language that guarantees survival and success in the linguistic market(s) (Bourdieu 1977).

In my data the construction of linguistic diversity as a problem permeates the children's discourse with their desire to 'change'. This need to change is enacted in two complementary basic principles that are dominant in their discourse and that reinforce this view of language: the rejection of hybridity (linguistic diversity as something that needs to change) and the deficit ideology (linguistic diversity as something that indexes insufficiency).

6.2.1.1. The rejection of hybridity and ambivalence

Modernist ideologies are based on the rejection of hybridity. In this view of language hybridity means impurity and disorder in language use (Blommaert, Leppänen & Spotti 2012). This orientation to language is often attributed to the emergence of the field of dialectology, which delineated and identified languages as such. In this process, grammar and dictionaries were codified and modern languages became objects of study and use.

This concern of keeping language pure and separate permeates class A. In the following extract, Lucía and Fatima are in Y6 and we are talking about mixing languages in the interview, round 2. I ask them whether they mix languages when they speak.

Extract 6. 1

Lucía: pues **jo quan parlo amb la meva mare rumà mmm** claro como aquí **parlo molt de: espanyol** me con- **me li- erm me faig un** lio **i erm i: parlo castellà i rumà i si alguna vegada {laughing} no** o sea **estic parlant rumà però no me'n recordo d'una paraula la mesclo i la dic en castellà i per això crec que té que canviar**

Researcher: **creus que té que canviar?**

Lucía: **sí**

Researcher: **per què?**

Lucía: **no m'agrada erm / baratar idiomes i: jo crec que és el meu idioma i el tinc que erm que: sebre totes les paraules i tot i aixines no mesclar perquè a jo no**

m'agrada res mesclar però erm però: algunes vegades que no me'n recordo d'alguna paraula tinc que baratar ai tinc que mesclar però no m'agrada

Researcher: **i tu Fatima**

Fatima: **jo xerro quan quan estic xerrant árab a casa a vegades dic algunes paraules en castellà perquè no sé molt molt bé àrab i algunes vegades no sé algunes paraules i les dic en castellà**

Researcher: **vale només quan no les saps**

Fatima: **sí**

Researcher: **i què passa / passa res**?

Fatima: **no / a jo me sembla normal perquè sempre xerro així**

Interview round 2 (Y6) – Lucía and Fatima

Translation

Lucía: so **I when I speak with my mother in Romanian mhm** sure because here **I speak a lot of Spanish** I get con- **I get con- erm I get confused and erm a:nd I speak Spanish and Romanian and yes sometimes I do {laughing} no** I mean **I am speaking in Romanian but I don't remember a word I mix it and I say it in Spanish and because of that I think it needs to change**

Researcher: **you think it needs to change?**

Lucía: **yes**

Researcher: **why?**

Lucía: **because I don't like erm / mixing languages a:nd I think it is my language and I must erm I must know all the words and then I won't mix because I don't like it to mix but but erm but sometimes that I don't remember a word I have to change I have to mix but I don't like it**

Researcher: **and you Fatima?**

Fatima: **I speak when when I am speaking in Arabic at home sometimes I say some words in Spanish because I don't know a lot of a lot of Arabic and sometimes I don't know some words and I say it in Spanish**

Researcher: **ok only when you don't know them**

Fatima: **yes**

Researcher: **and what happens / does anything happen?**

Fatima: **no / I think it is normal because I always speak like this**

Lucía and Fatima share the same opinion about mixing languages. In the first lines, Lucía tells me that she mixes languages, especially when she is at home, but immediately characterizes it as something that needs to 'change', that is, a problem. In her second intervention, Lucía represents the mixing of language as a lack of proficiency, which is also a dominant discourse in this context, and she clearly states that she does not like to mix. In the case of Fatima, she again conceptualizes the mixing of languages as a lack of proficiency (i.e., a deficit), but at the same time she declares it as her normal way of speaking. In stating that "I always speak like this" she is positioning herself in the low end of the proficiency scale. This discourse is influenced by a deficit ideology that is the product of conceptualising linguistic diversity as a problem and invokes discourses of nation building on the myth of homogeneity.

6.2.1.2. The deficit ideology

Taking the position of mixing as normal while conceptualising mixing as the lack of knowledge resonates with what Blommaert (2010) defined as 'truncated repertoires' to talk about transnational multilingual speakers in globalisation that are exposed to many languages. However, this term seems to reinforce this very ideology of deficit in that it is seen as something negative or something that needs to change. This is what justifies Lucía's position towards language mixing as something that she does not like.

The mixing of languages and the deficit ideology are also illustrated in the positioning of Ahmed in class A. He is here positioned as a deficient speaker of Spanish. The following episode happened during the making of the language portraits. The teacher, Pilar, gives the children some news about the Fonix English language contest in which some of the members of the class have participated. She tells the group that Clara has scored the best result on the Island and congratulates her in front of the class. The class starts shouting and clapping in an exaggerated manner. There are mixed feelings in the class, some peers congratulate her honestly, others initiate mocking comments or joke about it. This is the case of Ahmed, who starts pretending that he is the winner and the first in the ranking of the Island.

Extract 6. 2

Ahmed: Ahmed es el primero de {name of the Island} Ahmed

Cristiano: Ahmed no llegas ni a Suárez

Ahmed: AHMED

Ss: {laughing}

Cristiano: te crees Suárez y no sabes ni hablar en español

Translation

Ahmed: Ahmed is the first on {name of the Island} Ahmed

Cristiano: Ahmed you don't even reach to Suárez

Ahmed: AHMED

Ss: {laughing}

Cristiano: you think you are Suárez and you cannot even speak Spanish well

Cristiano replies to Ahmed's comment in a mocking tone, telling him that he does not even reach the level of Suárez (a famous football player in the Real Madrid). The group where they are siting laugh at Cristiano's comment and he continues his joke specifying why he does not reach the level of Suárez: "you think you are Suárez and you cannot even speak Spanish well".

Ahmed speaks Spanish, but there is the belief by his classmates that he does not do so well or well enough. Ahmed also thinks that of himself when he talks in Catalan, but he tells me in the interview that when he wants, he can speak Catalan well. When Ahmed refers to speaking Catalan "well", he means without mixing languages. There is a belief in the class, as illustrated before, that mixing languages represents a deficit and this linguistic pattern is immediately attributed to the newly arrived children.

The following extract is taken from an interview with Carla and Carlos, where I show them a few language portraits that represent different language experiences that I found in the literature (see appendix 6). I ask them what they think about the people that draw these language portraits. In the fifth language portrait Carla finds the person very varied ("variadísimo") and I try to elicit why she thinks that.

Extract 6. 3

Researcher: por qué creéis que lo ha pintado así cómo habla esta persona

Carla: habla el idioma original pero habla un poqui- como se dice o sea habla normal pero puede ser que sea un idioma que no conoce muy bien y tenga otro pero este es el que más habla y de repente a veces se le cuela como una palabra

Researcher: se le cuela?

Carla: y por eso el verde raya verde raya ve:rde raya

Researcher: y conoces a alguien así

Carla: erm no

Carlos: no

Carla: bueno Mila a veces un poco

Carlos: ya / o Ana

Carla: no

Carlos: que si está hablando en catalán y [y empieza a hablar en castellano]

Carla: [ah ya sé ya sé] hay una en el hormiguero que es japonesa o china una chica que a veces va y entonces a veces está hablando castellano y se le empiezan y empiezan de repente a hablar japonés o chino y entonces nos quedamos como *what* {laughing}

Translation

Researcher: why do you think she has coloured the portrait like this how does she speak

Carla: she speaks the original language but she speaks a littl- how do you say I mean she speaks normal but it may be a language that she doesn't know a lot and she has another that is his but this one is the one that she speaks the most and suddenly sometimes a word slips in

Researcher: slips in?

Carla: and this is why green stripe green stripe green stripe

Researcher: and do you know anyone like this

Carla: erm no

Carlos: no

Carla: well Mila sometimes a bit

Carlos: yes / or Ana

Carla: no

Carlos: yes she is speaking Catalan [and suddenly she starts speaking Spanish]

Carla: [ah I know I know] there is someone in 'el hormiguero' that is Japanese or Chinese a girl that sometimes goes and then sometimes she is speaking in Spanish and words start to: start to: and she suddenly speaks Japanese or Chinese and then we are like *what* {laughing}

Carla sees a very varied lived experience of language in this colourful language portrait. She then explains what she means by conceptualising how a person with a varied lived experience of language uses language. She says that she speaks "normal" but there is a language that this person does not know very well, and another language that is mostly used. She continues saying that when this person speaks the less known language, words from the other language "slip in". While this view of language represents the heteroglossic reality of many children (especially in this class), the comment resonates again with the deficit ideology and the 'abnormality' of mixing, that is, the rejection of hybridity and ambivalence. When I ask whether she knows anyone that uses language like that she points to Mila and then Carlos adds Ana. Mila and Ana arrived to the class in Year 5 with different life stories and trajectories, Mila speaks Moroccan at home but was born in Marbella (Spain) and Ana speaks Spanish (the variety of the Dominican Republic). Ana was born on the Island but migrated to the Dominican Republic with her family when she was 5 and then came back to Spain age 10.

In the extract shown, we see that mixing is not only conceptualised as deficit or indexing low proficiency but in the last comment, we see that it is also positioned as funny. Carla gives the example of a comedian who mixes languages and appears in a famous Spanish program, called 'el hormiguero'. By choosing the mixing of languages to produce a humorous effect, this comedian is reproducing a clear discourse: translanguaging is funny (because it breaks the rules of homogeneity and so plays with audience expectations).

This conceptualisation of language mixing supports the need for a 'change' of this behaviour, which the children not only think must happen, but also make it happen by the end of the study. In the following example, Cristiano is recording the final comment for his language portrait in Y6 (the second time):

Extract 6. 4

Cristiano: el portugués lo he puesto en la cabeza porque erm el año pasado me dijeron que el año pasado me dijeron que yo iba ir a Brasil y entonces ahí aprendí bastante pero con el tiempo se me fue bajando / el español lo he puesto en casi todo porque {laughing} es la lengua que sé catalán lo he puesto en un pie? porque no hablo mucho / italiano estoy aprendiendo para un viaje que estoy planeando a Italia y catalán lo mismo e inglés lo he puesto en las manos {he gets interrupted by the noise of the students that are outing the classroom} ya está

Translation

Cristiano: Portuguese I have it in my head because erm last year they told me that I was gonna go to Brazil and then there I learnt a lot but with time it went down / Spanish I have almost everywhere because {laughing} it is the language I know Catalan I have in one foot because I don't speak a lot / Italian I am learning for a trip that I am planning and Catalan and English I have them in my hands {he gets interrupted by the noise of the students that are outing the classroom} that's it

This extract summarizes Cristiano's lived experience of language in primary school, as he records his comment just a few months before moving to secondary school: "Brazilian went down". He points to a particular reason for this, in that he does not seem to visit Brazil anymore (or not so often). This means a decrease in the use of the home language in favour of the local one. Spanish now occupies almost all the portrait. A similar experience is reported by Ahmed and Omar in their last interview in Y6. In this interview we are comparing their language portraits in Y5 and in Y6 and I ask them what has changed.

Extract 6. 5

Researcher: erm este es el vuestro del año pasado?

Omar: sí

Researcher: os acordáis? qué es lo que veis que ha cambiado o que os llama la atención

Ahmed: mhm // que aquí sabía menos lenguas que ahora / y que he mejorado en las otras lenguas como catalán que me costaba mucho pero ahora he mejorado

Translation

Researcher: erm this is the one you did last year?

Omar: yes

Researcher: do you remember? what do you see what has changed or what captures your attention

Ahmed: mhm // that here I knew less languages than now / and that I have improved in the other languages like Catalan that it was very hard for me but now I have improved

Ahmed has now internalized the discourses that positioned him as a deficient speaker of the local languages (Catalan and Spanish) and now he affirms to have improved his proficiency in these languages. This is what his lived experience of language is about in primary school, improving the local languages that were at the beginning difficult for him.

The examples above describe two ways through which language and multilingualism is viewed as a problem: the rejection of ambivalence, in which language mixing is a problem, something that must be changed, and the deficit ideology, which posits mixing as lack of proficiency or as a funny way of using language. The position is taken that 'normal' speaking for Fatima includes the mixing of language(s), while 'normal' speaking for Carla is not mixing languages, but in both normalities they agree in that mixing indexes a linguistic gap. In education this leads to what Martín Rojo (2010) calls the compensatory logic, following "the construction and positioning of "the other" as a non-legitimate, incompetent or deficient participant" (Patiño-Santos 2010: 134) and affects the lived experience of language of children with migrant background in schools and promotes a 'change' towards homogeneity. In this experience, students who learn a second language are viewed as deficient speakers and their experience is centred on learning how to overcome this deficit.

> The creation and imposition of standard languages is related not only to inequality but also, as a more traditional approach has stressed, to the construction of national identity. The mass of literature on ethnicity and nationalism has often included language as one of its subjects, in part because of 18th century European theories positing the desirable, indeed inherent, primordial unity of language, nation, and state. (Gal 1989: 355)

6.2.2. Romanticizing language

Children in school A often express affiliation to a language, country or family (e.g., "I am Rumanian"). This aligns with legitimate discourses within the frame of minority language movements in which language becomes a right, and its basic principle defines language as 'something to be proud of'. This is also linked to what Woolard (1989: 10) explores as "the functioning of the ethnic sentiment: how it is articulated, and how it articulates a variety of experiences". Similarly to views of a problem requiring 'change', as explored in the previous section on the mixing of languages, the feeling of language as 'roots' and the principle of belonging, that is indexed in the ethnic rationale, operate under modernist views of language based on the ethnolinguistic assumption, which "aligns language use and ethnic or cultural group identity in a linear and one-on-one relationship, and in which the modern subject is

defined as monolingual and monocultural" (Blommaert, Leppännen & Spotti 2012: 2-3). This discourse becomes possible and legitimate when orientations towards language as a problem or a right become dominant; it is organised around issues of authenticity and purity, as well as on discourses of otherness and belonging. In fact, such monolingual ideology is related to the way modern nation-states have defined membership and the idea of a single shared culture with language as a key element. In this definition, other languages are positioned backstage.

Several formulations in children's discourse link language to membership. I decided on Carla's choice of 'roots' to illustrate this recurrent discourse. The example below is taken from her recording of the comment on her language portrait.

Extract 6. 6

Carla: **jo erm he posat argentí i català al cor perquè la meva mare és argentina i moltes i ja l'ha perdut un poc però erm l'accent argentí però a vegades li surt paraules {laughing} i em fa- i m'agrada perquè i és com les meus arrels igual que català que també el tenc al cor perquè el meu pare és de Catalunya i sempre parlem català entre ell i jo {laughing}**

Translation

Carla: **I erm have Argentinian and Catalan in my heart because my mother is Argentinian and often and she has lost it a bit but erm the Argentinian accent but sometimes she slips in some words {laughing} and it is- I like it because and it is like my roots the same as Catalan that it is also in my heart because my father is from Catalonia and we always speak in Catalan between him and me {laughing}**

Carla refers to her mother tongue (Spanish-Argentinian) as her roots and Catalan (Catalonia) as her heart. These representations of languages (or varieties) are only possible when a one-to-one relationship between country-language-people is assumed.

In this way of thinking, children are categorized or categorize themselves within specific ethnolinguistic categories using similar metaphors, such as the following ones used by the children of this study: "It runs through my veins", "It is my language (I can pray with it)", "It is my central centre (it is my country)".

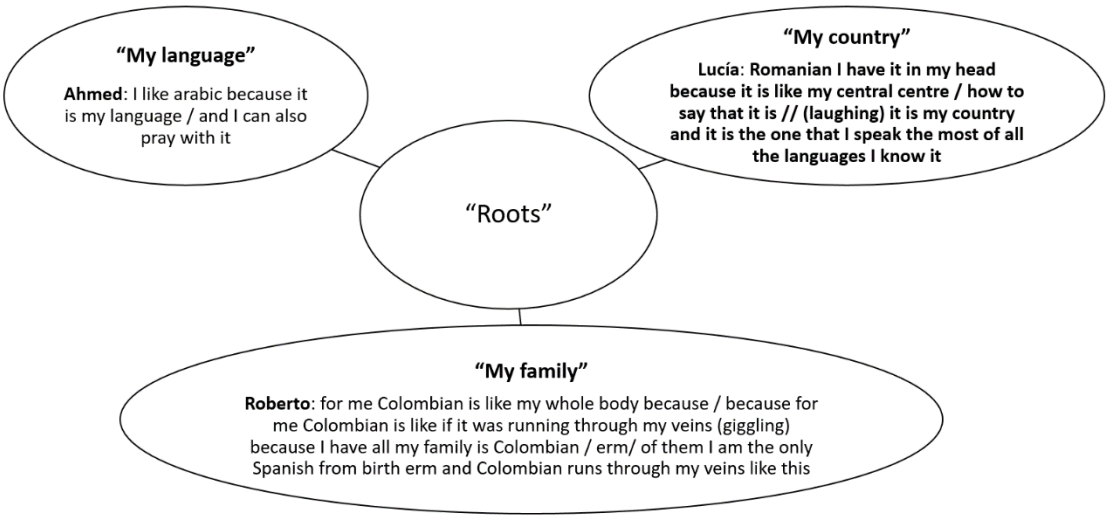

Figure 14. Language roots

The figure above shows the meaning of 'roots' for children and the reproduction of the ethnolinguistic assumption through their discourse. Roots are language, country and family, almost in a one-to-one relationship. These apparently fixed categories are, however, challenged by the complex identities brought by the figure of the migrant, whose life trajectories and lived experience of language do not fit into such bounded categories based on modernist views of language. Below, we can see an extract of an interview with Carla and Carlos, in Y5. I am showing them different language portraits to elicit their experiences of language. This is their comment on portrait four (see appendix 6)

Extract 6. 7

Carla: es muy variado / debe tener diferen- vive con-

Carlos: [diferentes]=

Carla: [diferentes] familias y:

Carlos: =diferentes religiones para mí

Carla: y: y: [religiones {laughing}]

Researcher: [religiones?]

Carlos: es que son como cuatro encima y están por todo su cuerpo

Carla: ()

Carlos: mira tiene el corazón se ha pintado hasta el corazón

Researcher: es verdad

Carla: yo creo que es que es una persona muy variada que por ejemplo vive en un sitio luego su familia erm habla con una pers- con un idioma con su otra familia de otro: sabes? / y cosas de estas

Translation

Carla: it is very varied / she must have different- she lives with-

Carlos: [different]=

Carla: [different] families a:nd

Carlos: =different religions I think

Carla: a:nd a:nd [religions {laughing}]

Researcher: [religions?]

Carlos: yes because there are like four and they are all over the body

Carla: ()

Carlos: look she has even the heart she has even coloured the heart

Researcher: true

Carla: I think that she is a very varied person that for example lives in a place and then her family erm speaks with some peop- with a language and with her other family another you know? / and something like this

In this example, Carla initiates the topic of hybridity as she describes the portrait as belonging to someone that is "varied". In Carla's view, to have a varied experience means to live or have lived in different places or perhaps having different families that speak different languages. This speaks to the experience of displacement and translocal identities. For Carlos, having different languages means having several close affiliations or religions, in his words.

This representation of linguistic diversity as 'roots', turns the basic principle of language and multilingualism into "something to be proud of". In language portraits the representation of the mother tongue with a heart is a recurrent pattern that illustrates the conceptualisation of language as a right. This discourse becomes legitimate together with minority language movements that fight for their linguistic rights (see chapter 3); nonetheless, within a modernist view of language, linguistic diversity is still constructed as a problem:

> those who would have expected that this recognition of linguistic and cultural diversity within the nation state would have caused an ideological adjustment to a more relaxed and flexible view of language and culture were wrong; if anything, this development has strengthened the power and scope of the ethnolinguistic assumption, which is now eagerly adopted by minorities and used as a crucial, compelling and compulsory defining feature of minorities' own purity (Blommaert, Leppännen & Spotti 2012: 4).

In the following sections, I discuss two ways in which language minorities fight for their rights and claim their identity as speaking subjects: authenticity and purity and, secondly, otherness and belonging.

6.2.2.1. Authenticity and purity

The ethnolinguistic assumption implies that everyone is categorized in one group, and that one cannot choose to which group one belongs. Rather, any individual's identity is imposed through the essentialisation of culture and language using ethnolinguistic criteria, such as 'language', 'country' and 'family'. Into this equation there comes the ideology that positions the 'mother tongue' as the real language of the speaker and so part of their authentic self, linked to the belief that the survival of minority languages is only possible through linguistic purism, that is, by policing language boundaries and creating unique language forms (Schieffelin, Woolard & Kroskrity 1998: 18).

The idealization of mother tongue as roots, constructs an identity for multilingual children, which often creates ideological dilemmas in speaking subjects who do not fit into such essentialist categories promoted by the ethnolinguistic assumption. In the example below, a conversation of a group in Y6 is illustrated while they draw their language portraits for the second time.

Extract 6. 8

Amira: tu madre es filipina / y tú no sabes hablar

Santi: me está enseñando aún solo se me quedan dos palabras (ako) que es "yo" y (salamat) que es "gracias" ya está

Ignacio: {laughing}

Santi: al menos voy progresando / antes solo sabía decir #brbrbr#

Translation

Amira: your mother is Filipino / and you don't speak it

Santi: she is still teaching me I can only retain two words (ako) which means "I" and (salamat) which is "thank you" that's it

Ignacio: {laughing}

Santi: at least I am progressing / before I could only say #brbrbr#

Santi's mother comes from the Philippines and she teaches Santi a bit of Tagalog, but they do not speak it at home, therefore, Santi does not speak the language, but he knows he has family there. In the interview he expresses his wish to learn the language and when I ask why, his answer is "to be able to speak with my cousins". The voice of authenticity and purity is here represented and questioned by Amira's comment expressing her surprise that Santi cannot speak his mother's language.

The motivation to be able to speak the language with the family is shared by Cristiano. In Y5 Cristiano travelled to Brazil and he spoke Brazilian Portuguese with his family there; however in Y6, he says that he has forgotten how to use the language, because he is not travelling anymore. The example below is from my interview with him in Y5, when he had travelled to Brazil not long ago.

Extract 6. 9

Researcher: cómo- **com li parlaries a un fill teu** si tuvieras un hijo

Cristiano: como mi madre más brasileño y no tanto- un poco español

Researcher: por qué?

Cristiano: porque así aprende porque si no mi madre seguramente me riñe {laughing}

Researcher: {laughing}

Cristiano: si voy a ir de viaje a Brasil con él pues tendré que enseñarle

Translation

Researcher: how- **how would you speak to your child** if you had one

Cristiano: like my mother more Brazilian and not a so much- just a bit of Spanish

Researcher: why?

Cristiano: because then he would learn and because otherwise my mum would tell me off {laughing}

Researcher: {laughing}

Cristiano: if I travel to Brazil with him I will have to teach him

Cristiano's wish to talk to his imagined son like his mother does to him, in Brazilian and just a bit in Spanish, and her mother's angry reaction at him if he does not learn Brazilian, shows the need to learn the mother tongue to belong to the group, that is, to prove his 'roots'.

6.2.2.2. Otherness and belonging

This need to have the language recognised shows the need to be part of a group. However, at the same time, the categorising of a speaker in a group, automatically excludes you from other groups, since multiple belongings are not possible within the ethnolinguistic assumption: "Full membership of a nation was predicated on full (and exclusive) membership of an ethnolinguistic community: a community defined by one language and one culture" (Blommaert, Leppännen & Spotti 2012: 3). If one speaks a language other than the national/local one, it "creates a fundamental problem of otherness for which a range of solutions was designed, from extinction and expulsion over assimilation to integration – because a 'normal' person naturally belongs to only one language culture unit" (Blommaert, Leppännen & Spotti 2012: 3). The identity of class A is constructed upon commonalities/belonging and differences/otherness.

The need to choose a group to belong to, brings the assumption that 'roots' (as family, country and language) position yourself into a category. In the following example Fatima positions herself as an Arabic speaker, despite being born on the Island. This is an extract from our interview in Y5.

Extract 6. 10

Fatima: **erm castellà ai àrab l'he posat damunt perquè jo vaig néixer aquí però parlo més àrab que castellà i em sembla que és més que- em- que: que m'agrada més àrab que castellà**

Lucía: {laughing}

Fatima: **i castellà l'he posat com la segona** len- **llengu que parlo i anglès un poquet / i català un poquet menys**

Researcher: **molt bé no t'agrada gaire català?**

Fatima: **[no no molt]**

Translation

Fatima: **erm Spanish ah Arabic I have it in the upper part because I was born here but I speak more Arabic than Spanish and I think that it is more- tha:t that I like Arabic more than Spanish**

Lucía: {laughing}

Fatima: **and Spanish I have like a second** lang**- language that I speak and English a bit / a:nd Catalan a bit less**

Researcher: **ok so you don't like Catalan that much?**

Fatima: **[no not a lot]**

Fatima's sense of belonging to the Arabic community is made possible because she speaks Arabic and because she prefers it over other languages. In her argument, it is not birth that entitles you with a linguistic identity (i.e., country), but it is family and language that grants you legitimacy as a member of a group. The role she gives to Spanish over Catalan is explanatory of the power of both languages in Spain in general and on the Islands, more specifically, where Spanish is still the national language while Catalan is just a regional one.

Operating under the ethnolinguistic assumption, one can only be part of one group; the rejection of hybridity and ambivalence is a premise for authenticity and purity. Thus, by belonging to one group, one is automatically excluded from the others. In the following example, we see how children engage in a process of othering when they talk about their linguistic repertoires. The group is here in Y5 and they are doing the language portrait for the first time. Initially, they try to make sense of the task. Lucía repeats the instructions with a raising intonation: "the languages that we speak?" and waits for the confirmation of the group. Tania says yes and then continues saying "me, Spanish" and laughs but finds no laughing in return, since everyone else speaks more languages. The others in the group start counting the languages that they speak. Aisha, for example, speaks five languages (Berber, Arabic, Catalan, Spanish and English). In this extract, Tania starts to ask them to use their languages in a provoking way.

Extract 6. 11

Tania: {to Cristiano} ahora en brasi- en brasileño

Aisha: {to Lucía} y ella en rumano

Tania: tened una conversación entre (ambos) aunque no os entendáis

Lucía: NO

Tania: va::

Cristiano: yo paso

Tania: (y luego contestáis)

Aisha: no no no no

Cristiano: {to Aisha} habla en marroquí

Aisha: NO

Cristiano: venga::

Lucía: eh tío va

Cristiano: te doy dinero

Aisha: no

Tania: di “hola qué tal”

Lucía: bueno (salut ce mai faci) {she talks in Romanian}

Cristiano: eh?

Tania: tú “hola qué tal”

Cristiano: ºhola qué talº

Tania: [en brasileño]

Cristiano: [óla como está] {the pronunciation is a bit different than in Spanish}

Lucía: CÓMO?

Cristiano: óla como está {he repeats slowlier}

Lucía: #como está# {she repeats trying to imitate him}

Tania: mola {laughing}

Lucía: #óla como está# {she keeps repeating imitiating him}

Tania: {laughing}

Cristiano: pues no

Lucía: #como está# {she keeps repeating imitiating him}

Cristiano: no así no óla como está

Lucía: vale vale

Tania: {to Aisha} y tú?

Aisha: no

Translation

Tania: {to Cristiano} now you in Brazi- in Brazilian

Aisha: {to Lucía} and you in Romanian

Tania: have a conversation the two of you even if you don’t understand each other

Lucía: NO

Tania: come o:n

Cristiano: I pass

Tania: (and then you answer)

Aisha: no no no no

Cristiano: {to Aisha} speak Moroccan

Aisha: NO

Cristiano: come o:n

Lucía: come on dude

Cristiano: I give you money

Aisha: no

Tania: say "hello how are you"

Lucía: ok (salut ce mai faci) {she talks in Romanian}

Cristiano: eh?

Tania: you "hello how are you"

Cristiano: ºóla como estáº

Tania: [in Brazilian]

Cristiano: [óla como está] {the pronunciation is a bit different than in Spanish}

Lucía: WHAT?

Cristiano: óla como está {he repeats slowlier}

Lucía: #como está# {she repeats trying to imitate him}

Tania: cool {laughing}

Lucía: #óla como está# {she keeps repeating imitiating him}

Tania: {laughing}

Cristiano: no

Lucía: #como está# {she keeps repeating imitiating him}

Cristiano: no not like this óla como está

Lucía: ok ok

Tania: {to Aisha} and you?

Aisha: no

In this example, Tania exoticizes the languages of the others, as something they should perform to entertain her. She does this in the position of a monolingual speaker that speaks the dominant language.

Her position as a monolingual speaker and her initial unawareness of the linguistic heterogeneity of the group can be argued as the result of a process of linguistic erasure that

can also be observed in the interactions of other groups and throughout my ethnography in different events and conversations with members of the school. In the extract, Cristiano is positioned as a Brazilian speaker and Lucía as a Romanian speaker. Then, Tania, the self-declared monolingual speaker, puts them all in the same group, a group where she does not belong to, while asking them to have a conversation in their languages even though she knows they will not understand each other. This type of behaviour divides the class into monolinguals (i.e., Spanish speakers) and the rest. This is followed by a strong reaction in Aisha's rejection of using other languages, which is related to feelings of shame probably in a refusal to be exoticized and become a source of entertainment with their home language. Cristiano joins in with a joke, participating in the same discourse that is othering him, and tries to bribe the others into speaking their home languages. This can be seen as a move to distance himself from this position. In the end, and after Tania asks them again, with a more serious tone, to say something in their languages, Lucía steps in and says "hi, how are you" in Romanian. This comment is followed by a "what" that denotes that something strange has happened, the same follows Cristiano's comment in Brazilian. In the subsequent turns, the children make fun of each other's utterances trying to imitate what the other has said. Tania asks Aisha again to say something in her language, but she again rejects. There is a large number of children with Moroccan background in class A (around fifty per cent) and cultural differences are often expressed beyond language. An example of othering is represented in cultural differences that are used to position children in different groups. In my data, there are several comments related to eating ham. In one occasion, for example, Santi and Ignacio remember in a mocking tone when Mila ate ham in a pizza without knowing. In another example, Ahmed warns the other non-Arabic classmates that "ham has worms". Yet, in another occasion, some girls talk about the Arabic bread that Jasmin's mother makes herself and sells, Daniela wants to buy some, but they just find excuses as if that was not something for her. Also within the Arabic group, there are differences. The construction of differences within this group is based on the language the children speak. Below, there is an extract of my first interview with Fatima in which she points out to the fact that some of them speak a different Arabic variety. In the following example, I interview Fatima after the language portraits in Year 6.

Extract 6. 12

Researcher: **aquí a s'escola què xerrau voltros**

Fatima: **castellà jo parlo castellà**

Researcher: **casi tot es temps?**

Fatima: **sí**

Researcher: **amb tothom?**

Fatima: **sí**

Researcher: **no parles àrab aquí?**

Fatima: **no**

Researcher: **però però aquí hi ha gent que parla àrab no?**

Fatima: **sí però ells tenen un altra àrab bereber**

Lucía: bereber

Researcher: **i tu no?**

Fatima: **no perquè el meu pare ho parla el seu- perquè el meu pare la seva mare parla bereber i els seus germans però ell no sap molt de bereber i la meva mare tampoc per això jo no sé parlar bereber**

Translation

Researcher: **here at school how do you speak?**

Fatima: **Spanish I speak Spanish**

Researcher: **all the time?**

Fatima: **yes**

Researcher: **with everyone?**

Fatima: **yes**

Researcher: **you don't speak Arabic here?**

Fatima: **no**

Researcher: **but but here children speak Arabic right?**

Fatima: **yes but they have another Arabic Berber**

Researcher: **and you don't?**

Fatima: **no because my father can speak it his- because my father his mother speaks Berber and his siblings but he don't know a lot of Berber and neither does my mother that's why I can't speak Berber**

This excerpt shows that there is a difference within the Arabic group signalled by the language they speak at home. In Fatima's attitude towards language, a sense of linguistic hierarchization starts to be visible. Indeed, multilingual children also construct linguistic diversity as a resource and by doing so they acknowledge the linguistic value of different

languages and varieties. In the section below I talk about this construction of linguistic diversity within a neoliberal framework.

6.2.3. Capitalizing language and multilingualism

Neoliberalism is an increasingly popular framework in applied linguistics used to understand the effects of the new political economy on the lived experience of individuals (e.g., Block, Gray & Holborow 2012; Shin & Park 2016). Here I use it as an umbrella term to help understanding the notion of 'efficiency' that is recurrent in the discourse of multilingual children in class A. This framework explains the insecurities and anxiety felt by individuals and communities that are forced to become "more competitive, more efficient, more flexible, and always more productive in this new entrepreneurial order" (Flubacher & del Percio 2017: xi).

Neoliberalism as "a theory of political economic practices that proposes that human well-being can best be advanced by liberating individual entrepreneurial freedoms and skills within an institutional framework characterized by strong private property rights, free markets, and free trade" (Harvey 2005: 2) finds its theoretical underpinnings in a group of economists and philosophers in the 1930s and 1940s, such as Ludwig von Mises or Friedrich von Hayek, who expanded the classical theories of liberalism of Adam Smith by arguing for the incorporation of the state into the market. At a larger scale, neoliberalism is connected to the politics of Reagan in the US and Thatcher in the UK during the 1980s; both politicians implemented a set of measures mainly consisting of the privatization of state enterprises, a reduction of welfare, deregulation, free trade, tax cuts, curtailing the power of labour unions and broad valorization of endless competition and entrepreneurship (Shin & Park 2016). This neoliberal transformation has been related to the recurrent following global economic crises (1990/2008) that have led to unstable and precarious unemployment, individual financial suffering, degradation of public services (such as education), privatization of the public sector, and dissolution of individual solidarity (Shin & Park 2016: 444).

In applied linguistics, a perspective on neoliberalism has been increasingly taken in the last decade to illustrate the inequalities that these political measures have brought to education in the form of policies, the re-conceptualisation of language and the resignification of the self (Flubacher & del Percio 2017). In education, we have seen its effects in the marketization of textbooks (Gray 2013); in the changes in language testing (Kubota 2011)

or classroom interaction (Chun 2009), as well as in the increasing implementation of CLIL (Codó & Patiño-Santos 2018) and plurilingual programs (Flores 2013).

To illustrate the inequalities that political measures following the new economy have brought to the Balearic Islands, I talk about a particular educational policy that was developed in 2013 and that marked the beginning of primary education for group A. This policy, named with the acronym TIL (*Tractament Integrat de llengües*) is explained in detail in chapter 2. The main point of the TIL was to promote multilingualism as a guarantor for success by introducing English (in addition to Spanish) as a medium of instruction, interrupting the policy that established Catalan as the only medium of instruction since the 80s, with the argument of promising a better future for our children. At issue is, then, the study of the re-conceptualisation of language in light of recent education developments (e.g., the expansion of CLIL and the promise of English for a better future) and the new (multilingual) subjectivities that emerge from being educated in these values. The idea behind this implementation is that without English this is just not possible (Baker & Huettner 2016).

In this framework, the discourse of 'efficiency' related to multilingualism positions language as something to invest in, which is further explained in two main themes that become salient in the children's discourses about language and multilingualism: the commodification of language, which is based on how useful a language-object is, and the characterization of English as an efficient language, which builds on arguments of English being a lingua franca and a world language.

6.2.3.1. The commodification of language

In globalisation, the central role of language in the economy, which is in part due to migration and transnational processes, led to a reconceptualization of the notion of language as a resource and led to the commodification of languages. This is linked to an increasingly global economy and the movement of capital across borders: "language has become commodity itself and, therefore, acts as a resource to be produced, controlled, distributed, valued, and constrained." (Heller 2010: 108)

However, not all languages have the same commodifiable potential, since it depends on the profitability they can generate, which is relative to the changes in the political economy. On the Islands, English is, as elsewhere, positioned at the top of the demand and the English teaching industry has increased. The strong belief held by most inhabitants is that through

English one can have access to the global market. On the other hand, at a local level, there is a work-related (language) policy, which establishes a minimum requirement of B2 in the Catalan language and C1 for specific categories/groups of work. Children are thus, not only socialized into the importance of certain languages to access the job market, but are also taught the need to acquire certificates to prove a language level. In this way, they learn the hierarchical and measurable value of language(s) in relation to the global and local political economy.

In the following example, Carlos is talking with Ahmed about Catalan. In what follows I analyse a conversation that took place during the making of the language portraits in Carlos' and Ahmed's group. This is in Y6, the second time they do the language portraits.

Extract 6. 13

Carlos:	catalán? / catalán dónde lo pongo? / es que en realidad odio el catalán / porque es que a parte de: {name of the Island} / Islas Baleares Barcelona y: otros sitios no te sirve para nada
Ahmed:	ya ya
Carlos:	porque no es un idioma mundial
Ahmed:	**i {variety spoken on the Island}**
Carlos:	es lo mismo
Javi:	ostia **{variety spoken on the neighbouring Island}**
Mariana:	**{variety spoken on the Island}**
Javi:	**{variety spoken on the neighbouring Island}**
Carlos:	qué?
Mariana:	**{variety spoken on the Island}**
Javi:	es catalán?
Ahmed:	no porque hablan como #()# no se entiende
Carlos:	Javi deja de inventar idiomas tío
Mariana:	**{variety spoken on the Island}** no es un idioma
Ahmed:	{laughing} hablan con la ñ no #()#
Mariana:	{to Pilar} **és que jo ja ho he acabat però se m'havia oblidat es {variety spoken on the Island}**
Pilar:	**i ara↑**
Mariana:	**pue:s no sé estic pensant com ho puc fer**

Pilar: **(estudia avam com ho pots fer) o si no li demanes una altra fulla a na (Researcher) tal vegada ho pots tornar a fer**

Mariana: **{variety spoken on the Island} / es que és lo mateix que català**

Ahmed: **Pilar ja està**

Mariana: **només canvia una o dues paraules** // eso cuenta como idioma?

Translation

Carlos: Catalan? / Catalan where do I put it? / because actually I hate Catalan / because apart from {name of the Island} / the Balearic Islands Barcelona a:nd these places it is completely useless

Ahmed: yes yes

Carlos: because it is not a world language

Ahmed: **and {variety spoken on the Island}**

Carlos: it's the same

Javi: shit **{variety spoken on the neighbouring Island}**

Mariana: **{variety spoken on the Island}**

Javi: **{variety spoken on the neighbouring Island}**

Carlos: what

Mariana: **{variety spoken on the Island}**

Javi: it's Catalan

Ahmed: no because they speak like #()# you cannot understand

Carlos: Javi stop inventing languages dude

Mariana: **{variety spoken on the Island}** is not a language

Ahmed: {laughing} they speak with the ñ right #()#

Mariana: {to Pilar} **I have finished but I forgot to put {variety spoken on the Island}**

Pilar: **and now↑**

Mariana: **so I don't know I am thinking what I can do**

Pilar: **(think how you can do it) and otherwise you can ask another sheet to Researcher maybe you can do it again**

Mariana: **{variety spoken on the Island} / it is the same as Catalan**

Ahmed: **Pilar I'm done**

Mariana: **it only changes one or two words** // does that count like a language↑

This extract illustrates how languages are linked to the concept of 'efficiency', i.e., language as a resource to invest in, which actually puts the local and minority languages in a lower position. There are then two things that can be discussed in this passage: the value of local languages (i.e., Catalan) vs. world languages, and the value of the standard language as opposed to other varieties, which are defined as difficult to understand and usually mocked, as in this example.

In spite of this attitude towards Catalan, and a bit in contradiction with his own argument that Catalan is useless, Carlos also thinks that Catalan is a necessary language. This is an extract from the first interview I had with Carlos.

Extract 6. 14

Researcher:	tú si tuvieras que elegir un idioma para hablar a tu hijo cuál elegirías
Carlos:	catalán o inglés / pero más que todo: inglés
Researcher:	y por qué catalán
Carlos:	porque como aquí la gente en {name of the Island} habla mucho catalán pues le hablaría en catalán para que así no tuviera dificultades
Researcher:	y el inglés por qué
Carlos:	el inglés porque erm me gustaría que aprendiera el idioma que a mí me gusta

Translation

Researcher:	if you had to choose a language to speak to your child what would it be
Carlos:	Catalan or English / but more than anything English
Researcher:	and Catalan why?
Carlos:	because here people in {name of the Island} speaks a lot of Catalan so I would speak to him in Catalan so that he didn't have difficulties
Researcher:	and English why?
Carlos:	English because erm I would like him to learn a language that I like

In this excerpt, Carlos expresses his wish to teach Catalan to his imagined children, and feels that life is a bit more difficult here without speaking that language, thus revealing his lived experience. According to Woolard (1982), it is economy that gives Catalan its authority in the perception of the population. In institutions, Catalan speakers were often seen taking higher positions in Woolard's first ethnography. This authority is inculcated through schools and formal institutions, but also through primary relations and encounters in everyday life (Woolard 1982: 742).

Along the same lines, Fatima also recognises that Catalan is an important language. This is the explanation of her second portrait.

Extract 6. 15

Fatima: en la cabeza lo he pintado de naranja y es de catalán porque me parece que es muy importante este idioma pero: no lo hablo a menudo y: en los brazos he puesto la bandera de España que es castellano que lo hablo muchas veces a veces en casa y a veces en la escuela y en la barriga he puesto color azul que es de inglés que inglés lo hablo muy pocas veces pero me gusta mucho hablarlo / y en los pies he puesto la bandera de marruecos porque erm sé de árabe y hablo un MONTÓN de árabe en casa

Translation

Fatima: in my head I have orange and it is for Catalan because I think it is very important this language but I don't speak it very often and in my arms I have the Spanish flag that is for Spanish that I speak very often sometimes at home and sometimes in school and in my belly I coloured blue which is English that- English I speak very few times but I like to speak it a lot / and in my feet I have the Moroccan flag because erm I know Arabic and I speak LOADS of Arabic at home

This is also in line with Woolard's ethnography in Barcelona, in which she finds out that while both groups of speakers (either Spanish or Catalan dominant) recognize the authority of Catalan, "they differed notably in their reactions to the two languages on the traits of likability, attractiveness, sense of humour, openness, trustworthiness, and generosity" (Woolard 1985: 742).

In this section, I have illustrated how these children live the value of languages in relation to the local economy. I have linked this experience to the commodification of language which is represented in education through two processes that nurture the multilingual children's experience: processes of inequality marked by "what counts as legitimate and commodifiable language and what counts as such and who controls the production and distribution of linguistic resources" (Heller 2010: 103) and processes of standardization of curricula and learning objectives that specify quantifiable skills (learning outcomes). This homogenization of language education is closely related to the development and extension of the CEFR framework as well as of the increasing industry of language testing, the marketization of books, etc. These processes are linked to the idea of investment, that is to say, the decision of what languages to invest in, and to what degree in terms of CEFR level, which generally needs to be proven through certificates or similar.

In the following section, I show how English takes part in these processes of commodification and how educational apparatuses contribute to its characterization as an 'efficient' language: "Neoliberal rationales are tied to educational apparatuses and that therefore affect the way people make sense of, and invest in, language and multilingualism" (Flubacher & del Percio 2017: 5).

6.2.3.2. The characterization of English as efficient

The commodification of language and especially of English is evidenced in education and around the world through the expansion of plurilingual programmes targeting English, such as CLIL and EMI, at all levels (from pre-school to higher education). In the Balearic Islands, the hegemony of English was confirmed by an educational reform that marked a turning point in the lived experience of children in group A, who were then starting primary school, with discourses and beliefs about the importance of being taught in English and arguments in favour of a CLIL methodology because of its two-for-one approach feature, in which content and language were to be learnt at the same time (Huettner, Dalton-Puffer & Smit 2013).

The TIL (*Tractament Integrat de Llengües*) was a political reform in Education initiated by the right-wing government, which formed a majority government in 2013, that generated unprecedented social movements operating against the measures that were being implemented. At the heart of the TIL was 'the promise of a better future for our children'. A better future that was to be guaranteed through the introduction of a plurilingual model that had English as one of the languages of instruction alongside the local languages (Catalan and Spanish). This, however, was to be implemented in times when cuts in education as a consequence of the economic crash in 2008 were being applied, leaving schools with larger numbers of students and no educational support. On the one hand, the cuts in the public sector were leaving schools with less resources (including human resources) and more children, the unemployment within the education sector, as well as in other sectors, increased, which forced professionals to join in the maxims of competitivity, i.e., acquiring certificates that showed skills in languages, mainly English, increased flexibility as jobs were temporary and employees needed to cover as many functions as possible within the same enterprise. Thus, in the case of schools, teachers with a B2 in English and other certified skills were at the top of the list now. The final aspect of competitivity included productivity, which was shown in more hours of work and lifelong learning investment. On the other hand, and more directly addressing the language issue, English now represented the promise of a

better future, and when in combination with other (prestige) languages, multilingualism was more and more seen as a resource than a problem. The reconceptualization of language as an asset in the global market, together with the cuts in education, helped increase the language teaching industry to raise prominently and the private schools that could guarantee the gaining of certificates became popular (and more expensive), this started to mark inequalities in a divide of those who could pay for extra English classes, resulting in the highly valued certificates of proficiency, and those who could not.

The TIL was only implemented for one year, because it was in conflict with policies that established Catalan as the only medium of instruction in the 80s, but the promise for a better future with English (and multilingualism) remained. In sum, the rationale of languages being key to becoming more competitive in the unstable times of the crisis remained, and the expansion of CLIL targeting English and the learning of languages became even more prominent. The popularization of CLIL and the so-called English fever was now more than the result of globalisation processes that brought English up in status while turning it into a global lingua franca and a world language; it was now also linked to this discourse of profitability. Thus, the reward of knowing languages became part of a neoliberal ideology that brought sociolinguistic changes. Schools are special sites where neoliberal rationales can be observed. The reason why I took the TIL as a starting point to make my argument and to raise the need to talk about neoliberalism in education is that with that reform a specific message was sent out to children, in group A and elsewhere, and that message is what I explore in this section.

The following quotes are examples of the response to an open-ended question in the background questionnaire that asks “what do you think about English”:

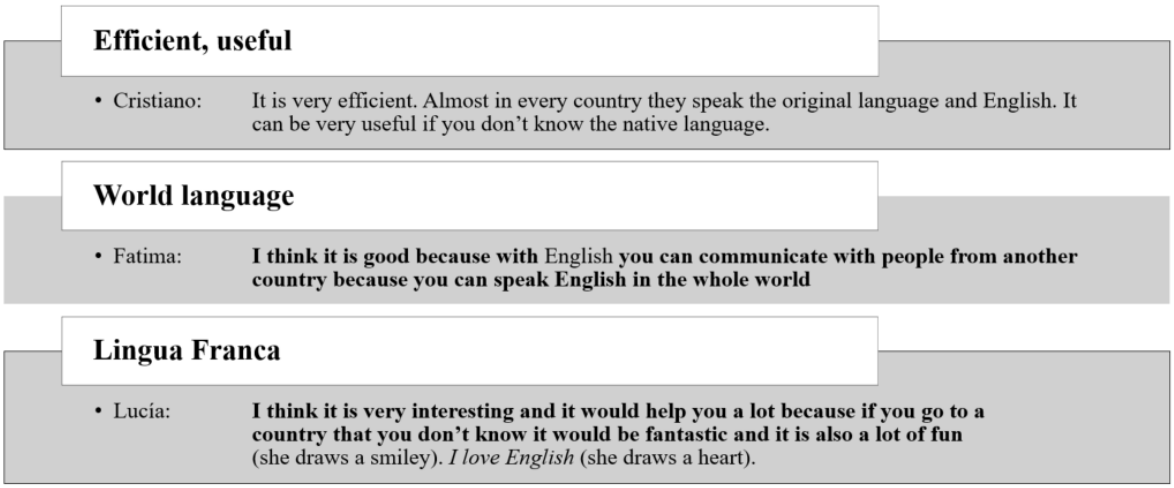

Figure 15. Language efficiency

As shown in the examples above, children characterize English as efficient, a world language and a lingua franca. This is also expanded in the interviews with them:

Extract 6. 16

Researcher: **què penses de s'anglès**

Cristiano: bie:n / sirve

Researcher: sirve?

Cristiano: sí mucho

Researcher: para qué sirve

Cristiano: mmm para visitar lugares muy grandes por ejemplo Estados Unidos que es que creo que es el país más grande

Researcher: muy bien

Cristiano: comparado con Rusia están igualados

Researcher: están igualados

Cristiano: y hay dos países que hablan inglés o casi todo el mundo

Translation

Researcher: **what do you think of English**

Cristiano: it is good / it is useful

Researcher: useful?

Cristiano: yes a lot

Researcher: for what is it useful

Cristiano: mmm to visit very big places for example the US which I think is the biggest country

Researcher: ok

Cristiano: compared to Russia they are equal

Researcher: they are equal

Cristiano: and there are two countries that speak English or in almost the whole world

Cristiano is not only talking about the usefulness of English in this example, but he is also referring to its power in the world in relation to the country where it is spoken. This territorialisation of the language allows him to make the comparison with other countries in terms of dimension. In the last sentence he also acknowledges the lingua franca character of English by deterritorializing it and acknowledging that actually not only two countries speak the language (in his knowledge) but almost the whole world does. The same characterization of English is taken up by Carla in the interview:

Extract 6. 17

Researcher: **què penses de s'anglès**

Carla: **s'anglès que que és un idioma que el xerren moltes persones sobretot quan vas a llocs** si no sabes si por ejemplo si no- puedes preguntar si saben tu idioma y si no si no saben ese idioma pues le intentas hablar en inglés

Translation

Researcher: **what do you think of English**

Carla: **English is a language that a lot of people speak especially when you go to places** if you don't know for example if you don't- you can ask if they know your language and if not if they can't speak your language then you can try to speak English

Carla is clearly here characterizing English as a lingua franca too by acknowledging that it is widely used, "a lot of people speak it". However, in her account, she is putting her language first, "you can first ask whether they know your language and if not, then you can try with English".

In sum, and as illustrated in the examples above, the theme of 'efficiency' brings neoliberal rationales into play in the lived experience of multilingual children. Language is seen as something to invest in, something that can provide them with a better future, but not all language have the same 'efficient' value. English is the most efficient language. In this discourse, the hierarchization of language(s) is reproduced and the symbolic capital of languages is learnt.

6.3. A modernist view of language: concluding remarks

This chapter has argued that problematizing, romanticizing or capitalizing languages are processes that can be located in discourses of linguistic diversity and multilingualism in school A. In these discourses, language and multilingualism are conceptualized either as a problem (something to 'change'), a right (something that indexes belonging and 'roots') and/or a resource (something to invest in for the future). It is argued that these discourses or ways of talking about language and multilingualism promote a particular view of the world that is linked to a modernist ideology (Blommaert, Leppännen & Spotti 2012). Modernist ideologies represent "belief systems that have served, and still serve, nation-states and their institutional ramifications – such as education – in setting up and perpetrating national order" (Spotti 2011: 30-31).

The belief system and assumptions located in school A that promote a modernist view of language are described in the myth of homogeneity (Gogolin 1997) that contribute to the conceptualisation of linguistic diversity as a problem, the ethnolinguistic assumption (Blommaert, Leppännen & Spotti 2012), that links language use to particular (ethnic) groups, and the hierarchization of languages (e.g., Martín Rojo 2010), that assumes the different status of languages.

This particular view of the world is crafting homogeneity and an ideology of language as separate. This is also observed in the language practices analysed in the next chapter.

7. Multilingual practices

7.1. Introduction

> Everyday life in schools and classroom activities are organized and take place through dialogues (interactions). Organising a school, applying the rules, giving classes, teaching and learning, assessing and studying, having fun, accepting or rejecting authority… these are all activities involving interactional practice. Every day, the same rituals of greetings and bidding farewell are repeated in the classroom, where the participants always occupy the same positions and repeat the same formulas. (Martín Rojo 2010: 6-7)

In these everyday practices, social relations and social norms are enacted and reproduced and many elements of the institutional order influence this reproduction, for example, the school organization, the principles and norms applied, the values and ideologies that are promoted and the programmes implemented.

In this chapter, I explore the language practices of multilingual children in class A during one day, in order to discuss how everyday practices in school build and reproduce the sociolinguistic order in this particular context conditioning the lived experience of language of multilingual children.

7.2. The practiced language policy in group A

In the theoretical framework, I have argued that previous studies on bilingual talk that base their analysis on the concept of language only account for a partial understanding of multilingual practices. This is because multilingual speakers may not choose a specific language as a base language, which is the starting point of most codeswitching studies (henceforth, CS). Instead, I draw on frameworks that claim that rather than on a specific language, speakers orient to 'the medium' of a particular conversation in order to know what and how they will use their linguistic resources. I described 'the medium of interaction' as a set of interactional rules of language choice, in ethnomethodological terms, these interactional rules are social norms in social action (Gafaranga & Torras 2001). In a conversation, participants may orient to a monolingual or a multilingual medium depending on the interactional rules that are implicit in a given situation or event. These set of interactional rules is what Bonacina (2020) calls 'a practiced language policy'.

In order to understand how multilingual children in group A display their linguistic repertoire and to explore the legitimacy of multiple languages in school A, in this chapter I discuss 'the practiced language policy' (Bonacina 2012, 2020) of this particular ecology and how it is

revealed in a particular genre of classroom discourse, i.e., label quests (Martin 2003; Creese & Blackledge 2010; Bonacina 2013). When we have unpacked the practiced language policy and the norms speakers refer to in interaction, we can speak of issues related to legitimacy (Bonacina 2020). In sum, the analysis chapter below aims to answer what medium speakers orient to in interaction (that is, what medium of classroom interaction rules in school A); and what interactional norm(s) they refer to in order to interpret that a medium is appropriate or legitimate (in line with Bonacina 2012, 2020).

7.2.1. Discovering the medium and interactional norms of classroom interaction

To empirically investigate 'the medium of classroom interaction', I will use tools from conversation analysis established in the frameworks developed in Gafaranga and Torras (2001), Bonacina and Gafaranga (2011), Bonacina (2012, 2020). Based on these studies I take the notion of 'repair' as the starting point of my analysis. The basic idea is that medium repair is a marker of deviance, seeing that it signals that a norm has been transgressed. It is in these instances of repair that I will place special attention in my analysis, to uncover the practiced language policy of this classroom and to understand whether and how a monolingual or a multilingual medium is constructed.

> The argument is that, once a medium of an interaction has been adopted, any departure from it is repaired unless it is meant to be functional. The repair occurs precisely because the medium functions as a social norm. Through this type of repair, speakers indicate what elements they do not consider to belong to the medium of current interaction. Reflexively, they also show which medium they are using and whether it is bilingual or monolingual. (Gafaranga & Torras 2001: 210)

Briefly, when an instance of language alternation occurs, I will observe the participants' reaction to it. Two options are envisaged, a first possibility is that a repair work starts, in which case I will apply a deviant case analysis (Heritage 1984):

> If a speaker or a hearer reacts to a particular language choice or alternation act as being a problem or as needing repair, this indicates to the analyst that this instance of language choice or alternation is considered to be deviant by the interactional participants. It is by looking at interactional participants' orientation (i.e., reaction) to deviant cases that the analyst is able to deduce what a 'normative' case would be. In this sense, the study of deviant cases reveals what norms speakers orient to in interaction, that is, they indicate what the practiced language policy is. (Bonacina 2020: 443)

A second possibility is that language alternation occurs but it is not repaired, in which case the instance can be interpreted as functional or as normative conduct. When an instance of

language alternation shows a normative conduct, speakers take no notice of what they are doing, that is, "speakers adopt an 'I-have-seen-all-this-before' attitude towards the activity at hand" (Gafaranga & Torras 2001: 198). In these cases, it is possible to demonstrate the normative nature of what is being done empirically. To understand whether an instance of language alternation that is not repaired reveals a norm or it is just functional, Gafaranga and Torras (2001: 212-213) talk of two methods: "other-language repair" and "cross-linguistic semantic relations". Other-language repair "occurs when one participant misses the 'mot juste' and other participants provide it in a language other than the first participant was using. In other-language repair, unlike in medium repair, the 'other-languageness' of the proposed element passes unnoticed by participants" (Gafaranga & Torras 2001: 212). The other method, namely, cross-linguistic semantic relations, is based on the idea that multilingual speakers might choose elements belonging to two different languages, but the point here is that if speakers do not orient to that difference as significant, then the normative conduct may reveal that the medium is multilingual.

The discussion in this section comes from the analysis of 'one day in the children's school life data set' in which I walked the corridors of school A and followed the main group (Class A) in different subjects, observing patterns of language choice and language use. The data sample belongs to interactions of key participants who carried pinned microphones during a whole day. I start with the premise that every (medium) choice is meaningful in bi-multilingual classes (Creese & Blackledge 2010), even if it is often taken for granted, it indexes language ideologies (see dominant discourses in chapter 6) and mediates affect and emotion of multilingual speakers (see chapter 8).

7.2.2. Label quests and the medium of classroom interaction

I illustrate how children in school A orient both to a monolingual medium and a multilingual medium through the analysis of one particular genre of classroom discourse that involves the negotiation of keywords. To pin down the types of interactional sequences that I use for analysis I have used the notion of 'label quests' (Martin 2003; Creese & Blackledge 2010; Bonacina 2013). The concept of label quest is traced back to Heath (1986) who talked about interactional sequences where a speaker (typically the teacher in classroom talk) names an item or asks for their name. In classroom talk, these are sequences where the teacher elicits a vocabulary item and they are usually used for teaching vocabulary. A prototypical example illustrated in Bonacina (2013: 143) would be:

1. Adult: what is this?

2. Child: a pen

3. Adult: a pen

The term is expanded in Martin (2003) to refer to displaying of knowledge by providing labels for vocabulary items bilingually. In his study of bilingual Malay-English classroom discourse in the primary school classroom in Brunei, he illustrates how label quests could be displayed monolingually (only in Malay) or bilingually (in Malay alongside English). In his study, bilingual label quests are by default functional when the perspective of the teacher is taken, that is, when the teacher admits to do it for comprehension check, but in here, I am interested in analyzing these kinds of sequences from the perspective of the children, that is, focusing on how multilingual children orient towards a monolingual or a multilingual medium in this type of event and which language(s) are legitimized on the way.

> I assert that the teachers' use of certain question types provides important signals to the students about their choice of language in such interactional sequences. In other words, there is some tacit understanding about 'what goes linguistically', so to speak, in the sequential flow between teacher and students. This understanding is based on the institutional norms and the history of interaction in the classrooms. (Martin 2003: 80-81)

Creese and Blackledge (2010) consider label quests where translation is involved as one of the strategies that can characterize a flexible bilingual pedagogy and find that there are many variations of bilingual quests in complementary school classrooms: "sometimes the teacher makes the bilingual label quest and also self-answers; at other times, the teacher asks in one language and expects the students to provide the answer in the other language" (Creese & Blackledge 2010: 112). In this type of school, label quests are sometimes bilingual from English to the community language or from the community language into English.

The notion of bilingual label quest is extended to include multilingualism in Bonacina's (2013) study in an induction class in France with an asymmetrical multilingual repertoire, that is, a classroom where the teacher and the students do not share the same linguistic repertoire. In this study (Bonacina, 2013), the teacher initiates what is called 'translation quests' by eliciting vocabulary items in the repertoire of the children. Translation quests, she argues, are accomplished multilingually, for example, when the teacher asks questions to elicit information that she does not know in languages she does not speak. Bonacina (2013) finds two types of multilingual or translation quests. The first type occurs when students fail to give the teacher the requested label in the target language (e.g., what is this?). Here, she

elicits a label in the students' languages and once understood in their languages, she gives the target label. In the second type, the students give the requested label, but fail to give the meaning of a label in the target language, here the students are encouraged to find out the meaning of the given label drawing on their languages. According to Bonacina (2013: 163), multilingual label quests or translation quests give the opportunity to students to participate even when they do not know the target label or language.

In this study I use the notion of label quest by taking the studies above as a starting point but broadening their conceptualization as follows: a label quest is an interactional sequence (with an indeterminate number of turns), teacher or student-initiated that requests a label for an item or items (i.e., what is this?), the meaning of a word (i.e., what is 'a pencil'?) or a list of items that are related to a label/word (e.g., what can we find in the classroom?). This request is followed by a display of knowledge that is accomplished by providing a vocabulary item or a list of vocabulary items. This can be accomplished monolingually (e.g., by giving synonyms) or multilingually (e.g., the translation of the word/label) depending on whether the speaker orients towards a monolingual or a multilingual medium "based on the institutional norms and the history of interaction in the classrooms" (Martin 2003), or what is the same, 'the practiced language policy' of a particular ecology. In an ideal flexible bilingual pedagogy (Creese & Blackledge 2010), multilingual label quests would improve the confidence and motivation of multilingual speakers that are encouraged to use their whole linguistic repertoire in asymmetrical multilingual classrooms (Bonacina 2013).

7.3. One day in my school life: uncovering the medium of classroom interaction

Inspired by the journey of Youenn in a DIWAN school in Brittany (France) (Osterkorn & Vetter 2014), in which Youenn's experience of separate languages is illustrated, I analyse the lived experience of language of participants in group A through the analysis of an ordinary day in school A and their interactions as they move from one class to the other. I use here the data collected through the pinned microphones for one day of four participants: Cristiano, Carlos, Lucía and Fatima, but through them I will also hear the group and teachers' voices.

In general, the analysis shows that in the group, when in content subjects and in general discourse, Spanish is the children's preferred language in peer-talk (Bonacina 2012: 225). The concept of 'language preference' was first defined by Auer (1995) to refer to the fact that speakers switch to a language because they feel more comfortable or competent in that

language. This was referred to as "preference-related switching" (Auer 1995: 125). In content subjects, especially in teacher-student talk, Spanish is often repaired by the teacher, thus, orienting towards a monolingual, Catalan medium, following the language policy in school by which the medium of instruction should be Catalan only. In language teaching, perhaps without much surprise, the medium constructed in L1 teaching is different than in FL teaching and CLIL. In the following discussion I present how they construct a preference towards a monolingual norm in L1 teaching (Spanish and Catalan) and how a preference towards a multilingual medium is constructed in English and CLIL classes. A special interest is found in answering the question of what type of multilingual medium is the norm and what language(s) are legitimized in the process. A discussion to open up foreign language teaching and CLIL to a flexible multilingual pedagogy is raised in the conclusion of the chapter.

7.3.1. A. Orienting towards a monolingual medium: L1(s) teaching

The construction of a preference for a monolingual norm has been reported in many sociolinguistic studies of schools in different corners of the world (e.g., García 2009a; Heller 2006; Osterkorn & Vetter 2014). In this section, I discuss the process of how a monolingual medium is constructed.

> As we have already seen, the medium is a type of social norm, a scheme of interpretation. Therefore, any instance of language choice is either a direct application of the norm or it is an instance of deviance from it. In social action, members react differently to these two types of conduct. In the first case, the act accomplished passes unnoticed while, in the second, the act is oriented to as a noticeable event. On the level of language choice, the norm, that is, the medium, consists of those instances which are not signaled by speakers themselves as deserving any notice. In other words, we define the medium of a conversation, not in terms of linguistic items, but rather in terms of speakers' own orientation to their language choice acts. (Gafaranga & Torras 2001: 204)

Even if we know that in classroom interaction there is this preference towards the monolingual medium (especially in L1 teaching, and perhaps traditionally in FL teaching), the medium of a classroom where multilingual speakers sit should not be taken for granted, as it could take in practice many different versions, the fact that a preference towards a monolingual norm is constructed tells us something about the context and the experience of multilingual children. In this section I will illustrate some of these versions and the process through which multilingual children construct and negotiate the medium as they move to different spaces in an ordinary school day.

7.3.1.1. Monolingual talk: The preferred language

A point that may be highlighted from the conceptualisation above is that the medium of a particular ecology where different languages are present cannot be assumed, as various possibilities are available in practice. Students in School A are multilingual. In their shared repertoire we find the school languages: Catalan, Spanish and a bit of English. In their individual repertoires most of them also speak at least one other language. Romanian, Portuguese, Arabic, Berber and Tagalog are also languages in the repertoire of the classroom. Lucía, for example speaks Romanian and Spanish at home, that is, she orients towards a multilingual medium of interaction at home in which both languages are used for interaction. When in school she mainly interacts using Spanish, the preferred language of the classroom (Auer 1995), Catalan in the Catalan class and when addressing teachers, and a bit of English in the English and Science (CLIL) class. Lucía, loves English, she says in the background questionnaire, and she loves "her country" as well, she adds in the interview. In her language portrait, the Romanian flag is drawn on the face and this is how she recognizes her drawing: "he pintado la bandera en toda la cara" (=I have painted the flag on the whole face). She arrived in Spain at the age of three and she remembers that it was easy to learn the languages because she started using a bit of everything when she arrived. Despite her idea that a multilingual medium can make things easier to learn languages, at least at the beginning, in school, she has constructed a preference for a monolingual (Spanish) medium, like most of her classmates. Spanish emerges as the preferred language shared among the classroom participants also throughout the day.

During this 'one day' that I illustrate in this chapter. Students start with Spanish class, move to Catalan class, then to EFL and end with CLIL. The breaks are not analysed here. Below, I illustrate a vignette of a classroom observation. It is the first one I sit in during my analysis of 'one day in school'.

> It is a week after Christmas and children are excited to return to school, but the teachers struggle to put their routines back. The day started with a Spanish class and a reprimand from the Spanish teacher. The group I have been following for two years is now in Y6, in this class they are reading together out loud, one sentence each. Some students do not pay attention and get lost, some are saved by their classmates who point to the next line to read. The teacher gets upset because they hesitate with some words and stumble in others: "Se nota muchísimo que lleváis un mes casi sin leer, se nota que no leéis en casa, me prometéis que leéis en casa, pero no leéis,

> cuando nos vemos aquí cada mañana se nota muchísimo (=It is very obvious that you have not been reading for almost one month, it is obvious that you do not read at home, you promise me that you read at home, but you do not, when we see each other every morning it is very obvious)". The teacher is sitting at the front, crossed legs. The classroom is arranged in a U-shape and from minute one there is absolutely no noise, you can only listen to the students reading with a shy voice, one by one in the order of the shape. The teacher repairs the pronunciation of some words and stops from time to time to ask about the meaning of others, like "argumentar". (Fieldnotes-1Oneday-Spanish class-Y6-GA-SA-15.01.18)

Marta, the teacher, is in her fifties and is from the Island, she speaks normally the Catalan dialect that is common on the Island, but at school she teaches Spanish. As most Islanders, she is bilingual Spanish-Catalan. She organized her teaching in six main sequences: in the first part of the class, they all read a text about marine reserves and the dangers of indiscriminate fishing. This is a meaningful topic for the islanders and the children can quickly relate to it by referring to local places. The teacher takes advantage of that when explaining the meaning of words or concepts. She interrupts the flow of the reading when they come across a difficult word, often to repair the pronunciation, sometimes to expand on the meaning; in the second part, they read about the theory of what is an argumentative text in the same U-shape order and the teacher uses the text about marine reserves (in part one) to illustrate the theory about argumentative texts. A practice part with other texts follow where children have to locate the thesis, the arguments and the conclusion. In the following example the teacher is explaining the instructions for the practice activities and wants to make sure they understand the meaning of "argumentar" (=to give arguments).

Extract 7. 1

1	Marta:	qué quiere decir argumentar
2	Lucía:	mhm
3	Aisha:	informar
4	Marta:	qué quiere decir argumentar
5	Lucía:	es que no sé cómo explicarlo
6	Marta:	explicar // dar razones de porque tú dices una cosa por ejemplo aquí abajo
7		pone erm "tesis" es necesario limpiarse los dientes cada día yo os digo esto y
8		entonces os doy razones por las cuales / se deben limpiar los dientes cada día
9		por ejemplo la salud bucal es muy importante para llevar una vida saludable

10		activa cada vez que comemos quedan residuos en la boca y hay que
11		eliminarlos estos son argumentos que yo te doy razones por las cuales tú
12		debes de creerte la tesis aquella que te he planteado / lo entendéis?
13	Lucía:	mhm

Translation

1	Marta:	what does it mean to give arguments
2	Lucía:	mhm
3	Aisha:	inform
4	Marta:	what does it mean to give arguments
5	Lucía:	I don't know how to explain
6	Marta:	to explain // to give reasons why you think something for example here below
7		it says erm "thesis" it is necessary to wash your teeth every day I say this and
8		then I give reasons why / you should wash your teeth every day
9		for example oral health is very important to held a healthy life
10		and active every time we eat we have some left in our mouth and we have to
11		get rid of it these are the arguments that I I give you reasons why you
12		should believe the thesis that I have stated / do you understand?
13	Lucía:	mhm

This example illustrates a typical classroom interaction in which the teacher elicits the meaning of a key word from the students in an Initiation-Response-Feedback pattern (IRF). What interests me is the medium used in the sequence. The first turn is initiated by the teacher in Spanish, the medium of instruction in the Spanish class. The response is in Spanish in line 3 providing an alternative by searching for a synonym (same medium). Aisha uses this monolingual strategy to make sense of the word, however, "informar" (=to inform) is not accepted as a correct answer and the teacher, who ignores Aisha's attempt, initiates the question one more time in line 4. Lucía who is looking for an explanation in Spanish takes the next turn (line 5) to express her frustration, she does not know how to explain. The teacher takes over and provides an answer in the feedback phase in a long monolingual turn that includes a couple of synonyms and several examples from the monolingual texts they have just read. The sequence is closed with Lucía's backchanneling indicating that she has accepted that answer.

There is nothing to repair in the Spanish class, during which a monolingual (Spanish only) medium is constructed through the reading of monolingual texts and negotiation of meaning

sequences based on monolingual strategies (e.g., synonyms, explanations) as the previous example shows. The only repaired instances focus on pronunciation during reading activities, which show an orientation towards homogeneity and the standard language. I use the previous episode to illustrate how this monolingual medium is constructed. There is also little awareness of the multilingual repertoire of the children, who receive a reprimand for not reading (in Spanish) at home, but most of them have other home languages, plus the other language subjects that also demand reading.

7.3.1.2. Parallel monolingualism: one language at a time

The first word in a different language that is captured by the recorders is a greeting used by the Catalan teacher "bon dia" (=good morning) as the students move inside the class. This is the way in which children enter a second monolingual space in which a monolingual Catalan medium is constructed. Lucía, who is carrying one of the four recorders that are pinned to key participants, responds with a "bon dia", this is the first multilingual behaviour of the day captured in my data. In the following vignette Catalan is represented in bold.

> The teacher is there standing at the door and letting us in, in a classroom arranged in a U-shape. Once students have taken their seats, after greeting back with a "**bon dia**", the teacher calls the register while checking who did their homework. Some, had forgotten their notebooks, or books, or simply did not do what they had to do. Excuses from the students follow. Carlos has forgotten his notebook and chooses Catalan to address the teacher while aligning to language policy rules, the teacher relieves him with a "**no et preocupis, corregiràs fins on tenguis fet**" (=do not worry, you will correct what you have). (Fieldnotes-2Oneday-Catalanclass-Y6-GA-SA-15.01.18)

Carlos usually speaks in Spanish which is why the choice of Catalan here is meaningful and illustrates how he navigates the language regimes in the school by alignment through language choice, in this case. He is proudly self-presented as Colombian in his linguistic repertoire comment, although I learn from the recordings that it is his family that comes from Colombia. He is the only one in his family who was born on the Island, but he tries to hide this at first. This is because the other children start questioning his Colombian identity because of his place of birth in a conversation while they are doing their language portraits. What is clear from his comments is that he hates Catalan and he thinks it is a useless language because it is only spoken on the Island. On the contrary, he loves English because it is an international language and he says he studies Italian and German, thus presenting

multilingualism (with prestige languages) as something useful. He usually does his homework, especially in the English subjects, but this time he has an excuse for the Catalan class.

In the second part of the class, they read a text together on the topic of Greek Mythology, the teacher focuses on correcting the pronunciation of certain words and asks for the meaning of others like "deeses" (=goddesses). In the following example we can see the initiation of a label quest in a typical IRF pattern, which contrasts with the one presented before in the Spanish class as it presents language alternation:

Extract 7. 2

1	Núria:	**què eren deeses? (=what were goddesses?)**
2	Lucía:	las diosas (=goddesses)
3	Núria:	**en castellà és** diosas **(=in Spanish is** goddesses)

In this IRF sequence, initiated by the Catalan teacher Núria in Catalan, we can see a different pattern than the one presented in the Spanish class. Lucía answers the teacher's question while switching to Spanish (line 2). In the previous class, she could have done that in another language in her repertoire, but instead of providing a translation or an alternative she chose to stick to Spanish (see extract 7.1). In extract 7.2, in line 2 she chooses Spanish. The transgression of a norm is perceived here in the feedback phase in line 3, when the teacher chooses not to elaborate on the meaning, but instead she focuses on making sure they understand that the word "diosas" (=goddesses) belongs to the Spanish language. This is actually a recurrent pattern in the Catalan class in negotiation of meaning sequences, when questions are initiated by the teacher, students answer with the translation in Spanish. Alternativately, we find an inverted question and answer situation, that is, when students initiate the question, two possibilities emerge: on the first pattern, the student asks for the meaning of a word in Catalan, in which case the teacher responds with a synonym, example or explanation, with similar monolingual strategies as in the Spanish class, in a second pattern, students might ask the teacher whether something in Catalan is that other something in Spanish, in which case the teacher answers making clear what word is correct in Catalan and which one is not, remarking that they belong to the Spanish language or in some cases, that they are loan words and that should not be used in Catalan. This is the case in the following example, in which Carlos asks about the meaning of "gaudir", a word that is more common in standard Catalan, but that the Islanders do not use in their dialect, and some have never heard of.

Extract 7. 3

1 Carlos: **Núria erm gaudir era** disfrutar? (= **Núria erm to enjoy was** to enjoy?)
2 Núria: **gaudir és** disfrutar **sí** disfrutar **és barbarisme gaudir és sa paraula correcta (=to enjoy is** to enjoy **yes** to enjoy **is a loan word to enjoy is the correct word)**

This extract echoes both a purist ideology in the reference to the contamination of language "barbarisme" (line 2) and a standard ideology, in which the word "gaudir" (=to enjoy) is disambiguated from the Spanish "disfrutar" (=to enjoy) but not compared to the dialectal form "xalar" (=to enjoy), which is mostly used on the Island to express enjoyment. The enactment of the standard (Catalan) ideology by the teacher is also clearly marked by her language choices, when she reproves Lucía to talk too much: "Lucía para de parlar" (=Lucía stop talking). This is indexed in her choice of the word "parlar" instead of the dialectal forms "xerrar" or "rallar", the teacher is aligning with institutional regimes that are sometimes contested by the students. This is the case of Carlos who later in the day imitates this teacher's voice to tease Lucía and tell her to be quiet by repeating in a mocking tone "Lucía para de parlar", in this way voicing the teacher, and questioning a position that aligns with the institutional order.

In conclusion, in the Catalan class, a preference towards a monolingual medium is also constructed. The use of Spanish is functional, it is used for cross-linguistic comparison to reinforce meaning or for disambiguation and to remark features that belong to two distinct language systems. Thus, label quests become bilingual but are marked, therefore the use of language alternation becomes functional. This use is legitimated by the teacher who also uses Spanish functionally. In the following example the teacher is explaining the instructions of an activity and switches to Spanish to repeat the same expression:

Extract 7. 4

1 Núria: **es quinze "descriu una situació de la vida real en que es pugui fer servir**
2 **l'expressió renéixer de les pròpies cendres com l'ocell fènix" que en**
3 **castellà coneixem** como eh resucité como el ave fénix **que és molt**
4 **coneguda aquesta frase vale pues havíeu de posar aquí eh un cas en que**
5 **voltros poguéssiu dir aquesta expressió eh què has posat Carla**

Translation

1 Núria: **fifteen "describe a situation in real life in which you can use**

2 **the idiom to rise like a phoenix from the ashes" that in**
3 **Spanish we know as** to rise like a phoenix from the ashes **this is a very**
4 **popular expression ok so you had to use this one here in a case in which**
5 **you could use this expression eh what do you have Carla**

In this sequence, the teacher initiates the turn in Catalan with a language alternation episode that is legitimated by the marker "in Spanish we know this as" (line 3).

Briefly, in the Catalan class a monolingual medium is constructed through the marking of language alternation (e.g., "in Spanish this is") and correcting deviations from the standard language (e.g., this is a loan word and it is incorrect). The social norm that is constructed in the Catalan class is that Spanish is legitimate when it is marked as Spanish and only for functional purposes (i.e., disambiguation, cross-linguistic comparison, etc.). A second norm is that Spanish is legitimate when it is not mixed with Catalan (loan words are not correct), that is, Spanish is appropriate when it is used as a separate language. And finally, and as regards the monolingual (Catalan) medium that is constructed, a preference towards the standard language is evidenced and marked by the mocking tone of the children when voicing the teacher.

In sum, in terms of language choice, observations start to be more complex when analysing language use in the Catalan class, as choice becomes meaningful beyond pedagogical orientations. The examples shown illustrate how Catalan is the norm in the Catalan class when addressing the teacher, both to ask or answer questions, but that students prefer Spanish to talk to each other both in side-talk and on-task. Perhaps the most salient difference with the Spanish class, in terms of language choice, is the use of other linguistic resources for disambiguation and cross-linguistic comparison to reinforce meaning. However, this 'permission to use Spanish', granted by the teacher in sequences like extract 7.4, is legitimized only when languages are kept separate as illustrated in the references to the incorrectness of loan words (as in extract 7.3).

In the previous section I have shown how a preference for a monolingual medium is constructed in what could be categorized as L1 teaching and learning (both in the Spanish and the Catalan class), and how the same medium is also constructed in peer-talk since the children have made Spanish their preferred language that is shared by all the speakers in the class. Below I turn to the medium constructed in the foreign language class and in CLIL.

7.3.2. B. Orienting towards a multilingual norm in EFL and CLIL

A different pattern that speakers may adopt is the alternate use of various languages. In general, when Gafaranga and Torras (2001) refer to 'a bilingual medium' they refer to speakers who use two languages, but do not orient to the two languages as different. In turn, they speak of different possible lookouts that the bilingual medium can take: a) a parallel mode, "[t]his possibility consists of the fact that one speaker consistently uses language A while the other consistently uses language B without any orientation to the other party's choice as divergent" (Gafaranga & Torras 2001: 205); b) a mixed mode, "[t]his mode is observed when all participants alternate between their languages, both between turns and within turns, without attending to the linguistic origin of the various elements they are using" (Gafaranga & Torras 2001: 206); and the halfway-between mode, "[i]n this mode, while one participant consistently uses one language, the other participant consistently alternates between the two languages in his/her repertoire" (Gafaranga & Torras 2001: 207).

So far, two patterns of language use have been described: firstly, the use of Spanish as a monolingual medium was observed in the Spanish class and in peer-talk in general; the second pattern, shows the use of Catalan as a monolingual medium, as prescribed in the local language policy. This is seen in the Catalan class (extract 7.2, 7.3 and 7.4) and has also been observed in other observations in content subjects that are not illustrated here due to space limitations (e.g., in a Maths class). In the latter, as shown in the examples above, the use of Spanish is present but marked as a distinct language system and repaired. That is, even though the use of Spanish is a resource, it is often repaired revealing a preference towards the policy rule of Catalan only at school.

In contrast, in what follows, I show how group A constructs a preference towards a multilingual medium in EFL (English as a Foreign Language) and CLIL (Content and Language Integrated Learning). In the past, a monolingual medium orientation had also been in place in foreign language teaching, with a policy that imposed the use of the target language only in a wish to increase the input in the target language. In these spaces the L1 was discouraged and seen as a mark of a low proficiency level and an indication of bad teaching. In the present, discourses have changed, in part because of new discourses for which I see globalization as a starting point (see section 3.1.3). This is why it makes sense here to adopt the concept of 'practiced language policy' to explore the set of interactional

rules of this particular ecology considering the sociolinguistic complexity of schools in the present and the role of English in the multilingual mix.

> Although the question of the medium must be raised for every conversation where two languages are observed, it especially becomes a concern for the analyst when frequent language alternation is observed. When only one language is used, the analyst is not confronted with any identification problems. The medium is obviously monolingual. Similarly, when each speaker consistently uses one language while the other consistently uses a different one, the issue does not arise for the medium is obviously bilingual (the parallel mode). The issue arises when language alternation is observed within the same speaker's talk. In such cases, the analyst does not know whether a specific instance of language alternation is an instance of functional deviance (codeswitching, in Gafaranaga, 1998; Gafaranga and Torras, 1999) or whether it is an instance of normative language choice. (Gafaranga & Torras 2001: 209)

This section has two parts, the first part "legitimizing the use of other languages in EFL and CLIL" discusses what happens to the medium of classroom interaction when introducing English, in both EFL and CLIL; the second part "multilingual label quests in CLIL" deals with the particulars of CLIL, in which more complex patterns of interaction are observed.

7.3.2.1. Legitimizing the use of other languages in EFL and CLIL

There are different ways in which the introduction of a foreign language brings opportunities to introduce a multilingual medium. However, a multilingual medium in these spaces should not be taken for granted, as policies in the past encouraged the use of the target language only in class, and in fact, the use of the L1 is in many contexts still frowned upon. In analysing the practiced language policy of group A in the foreign language class and CLIL, the legitimacy of other languages emerged as a distinctive feature of these spaces, in contrast with the one-language only policy that was encouraged during the rest of the day. However, in the same way as in the rest of the day, non-institutional languages remained invisible.

Below I examine two of the main normative behaviours that emerged in the analysis of the students' interactions: the use of bilingual label quests with a stance (Spanish-English or Catalan-English), a feature of the EFL class; and the legitimacy of other (institutional) beyond label quests, observed especially in CLIL. In both cases, the multilingual medium is granted by the teacher, who gives implicit or explicit permission to use other languages. This is in line with what is observed in Bonacina (2020).

Bilingual label quests (with a stance): the practiced language policy in EFL

The last class of the day is the English language class. Pilar is both the English teacher and the CLIL teacher, which is a fairly rare combination according to the CLIL literature. Nevertheless, this dual role is common in lower levels in my context. The English class analysed here is a listening class on the topic of food and recipes. The class is divided into four sequences: the listening activity, during which the children listen and read a text about Jamaica and a recipe; a second part in which the teacher asks a few comprehension questions; a third part, when the teacher explains the structure of a recipe; and a fourth part, in which the students have to create a vocabulary list using key words that appear in the text, with the aim to learn the necessary vocabulary to then write their own recipe in English for the next class.

In this class, a multilingual medium is constructed while English is introduced as a target language. In lower levels, proficiency in English is limited, thus, language alternation can signal gaps in the target language and it can be studied as part of a functional use of linguistic resources, however, multilingual choice can also index the speaker positioning vis-a-vis a language norm. I take the second emphasis in the analysis of the examples below.

The first example illustrates a turn that the teacher takes to explain the instructions on how to extract the keywords from the text. In this example we can see how she orients towards a multilingual medium in which she translanguages in the three institutional language(s) when addressing the students. She does that both in instructive and regulative discourse. The use of these three languages is thus legitimized not only by her behaviour, illustrated below, but also explicitly granted in her discourse:

Extract 7. 5

1	Pilar:	**Si noltros miram sa recepta** *and it says* // *first of all erm / ingredients*
2		{she writes on the board} // **i posam** ingredientes / *instructions* / **después**
3		**podem** / **jo que sé per exemple** *flavour* / *flavour* **és una paraula clau** sabor o
4		**gust no sé com ho voleu fer en català en castellà erm** / *delicious* // *table*
5		*spoon* **heu de cercar paraules que són relacionades amb receptes**
6		**paraules clau**

Translation

1	Pilar:	**If we look at the recipe** *and it says* // *first of all erm / ingredients*
2		{she writes on the board} // **we write** ingredients / *instructions* / **then we**
3		**can / I don't know for example** *flavour* / *flavour* **it's a key word** flavour or
4		**flavour I don't know how you wanna do it in Catalan or Spanish erm** /

5 *delicious* // *table spoon* **you have to look for words related to recipes**

6 **key words**

In this example, the teacher is explaining how to extract key words from a text and make a record on their notebooks. In her use of Catalan first, she is illustrating the preference for the use of Catalan when English is not the first choice (line 1), but later, Spanish also becomes legitimate to translate key words in English (line 2: "ingredientes"). She keeps giving more examples on how to extract other words, but now, and unlike in other subjects, a bilingual mode is legitimized and she takes the word "flavour" to legitimize the use of Catalan "gust" or Spanish "sabor" to record the words (line 3-4) on the vocabulary list. She goes on by explicitly legitimizing the use of both by giving them permission to choose one or the other (line 4). What is clear however, is that she does not encourage the use of both at the same time, for now, just the use of one or the other seems to be legitimized. Thus, the teacher invites the children to continue a kind of bilingual label quest in which the children will have to take a stance. They will either translate the words in Catalan or Spanish.

Briefly, in the English class, the normative conduct follows a parallel mode or a half-way between mode in which the teacher uses mostly English or Catalan in both regulative and instructional discourse and the children consistently use Spanish in peer-talk. The norm that is implicit in their interactions is that Spanish is not sanctioned, but Catalan is preferred when English is not possible.

Permission to switch languages in CLIL: integrating language and content

The legitimacy of Catalan or Spanish as label resources to deal with vocabulary items is granted already in EFL, although we have seen the condition of 'taking a stance' applies. In CLIL, the legitimacy of other languages is demanded beyond label quests. This is a unique feature of CLIL classes in my data, which is probably due to the challenge to integrate content and language in lower levels. The example below illustrates how the legitimacy of Spanish is granted beyond label quests. The group, in Y6, has been working in groups to complete an activity. The teacher is asking feedback on how they completed the activity.

Extract 7. 6

1 Pilar: *excellent well done was it difficult*

2 SS: no

3 Pilar: *how how could you do it* **com ho heu fet per fer-ho**

4 Sx: yo

5	Pilar:	*no you raise your hands to talk*
6	Javi:	yo he cogido-
7	Pilar:	*you raise your hands to talk / Omar*
8	Omar:	erm con () que tenía ()
9	Pilar:	con el?
10	Omar:	con la información del libro
11	Pilar:	pero tú tenías un libro aquí en la mesa / no / entonces?
12	Omar:	()
13	Pilar:	has estudiado vale ok Carla?
14	Carla:	yo lo- / lo puedo decir en Castellano
15	Pilar:	*or in English in Catalan up to you*
16	Carla:	() nosotros lo hemos hecho basándonos en lo que decían los esquemas y esto
17		por ejemplo decía que () era un frío pues los que los que se veían que era frío
18		pues lo ponemos () de ese {she speaks too fast}
19	Pilar:	*perfect and what about you*
20	Lucía:	erm
21	Pilar:	Lucía
22	Lucía	nosotros erm **també hem fet treball en equip i:: mhm per** la información
23		que nos **deien i també pels dibuixos i també com mmm tenim que: erm**
24		**hi ha que** haber un animal erm **cada: grup**

Translation

1	Pilar:	*excellent well done was it difficult*
2	SS:	no
3	Pilar:	*how how could you do it* **how did you do it?**
4	Sx:	I
5	Pilar:	*no you raise your hands to talk*
6	Javi:	I took-
7	Pilar:	*you raise your hands to talk / Omar*
8	Omar:	erm with () that I had ()
9	Pilar:	with what?
10	Omar:	with the information in the book
11	Pilar:	but you had a book here on the table / no / then?
12	Omar:	()
13	Pilar:	you have studied ok Carla?
14	Carla:	I have- / can I say it in Spanish

15	Pilar:	*or in English in Catalan up to you*
16	Carla:	() we have we have focused on what the outlines were saying and then
17		for example they said () was cold then we took the ones that were cold
18		then we put them () one of those {she speaks too fast}
19	Pilar:	*perfect and what about you*
20	Lucía:	erm
21	Pilar:	Lucía
22	Lucía	we erm **have also done this as a team a:nd mhm for** the information
23		that we **were told and also with the drawings and because we mmm**
24		**there have** to be an animal erm in each group

The teacher initiates the question in English, Omar and Javi attempt to reply in Spanish. Their choice is not sanctioned, but Carla, in line 14, feels the need to ask for permission to use Spanish to answer. She initiates in Spanish, but self-interrupts to ask permission first. This explicit request for a switch of codes is unique to the CLIL classes and happens on several occasions. Even though the request is not a prerequisite to use Spanish, in the case of Carla, the fact that the question is asked signals that a norm is being negotiated. The norm of one language only and the Catalan-first rule is put into question here, at the same time that Carla is recognizing the existence of this very same norm as she had to ask to use another language. It can be argued then, that in line 14 Carla wants the permission to establish a monolingual (Spanish) medium, and the teacher does not reject the change of medium, but she also points to either Catalan or English (line 15). This brings legitimacy to a multilingual (mixed mode) which is the one that the teacher uses all the time and therefore the one that is also implicitly legitimated. In line 16, the medium is changed to a monolingual Spanish mode. Carla has chosen Spanish over Catalan or English or a mixed mode medium. She is negotiating a monolingual medium that is accepted. However, the medium is repaired by the teacher in the next turn that she takes in English (line 19). This move, that tries to restore the English medium, is granting legitimacy to the use of Spanish, but rejects a monolingual medium. Therefore, the legitimacy is granted for a multilingual medium in which the students can use either English, Catalan or Spanish in a variety of patterns. The next turn is taken by Lucía who starts her turn in Spanish but then self-repairs in Catalan (line 22). Lucía's turn takes language alternation in a mixed mode using features of Catalan (the preferred institutional language – enacting the official language policy) and Spanish (the preferred shared language – enacting the practiced language policy in the group). Her turn runs with a lot of hesitation markers. Two possible interpretations of this trouble markers

apply here. On the one hand, Lucía might want to re-establish Catalan as the medium of instruction, or on the other hand she might be more proficient in Spanish and thus, she has trouble in using Catalan and goes on switching to Spanish. However, in any case, she could have chosen to do it in Spanish only, and the fact that she did not, is meaningful and it shows that a mixed mode multilingual medium is the norm in CLIL, where content learning needs to be integrated with language learning.

To sum up section 7.3.2.1, the introduction of a foreign language as either the target language or a medium of instruction adds complexity to the issue of legitimacy of languages in the medium of classroom interaction. This has to do with the limited proficiency of the children in the foreign language (e.g., permission to switch codes to a more proficient language when dealing with content), but also with their position vis-a-vis language ideologies (e.g., bilingual label quests with a stance when learning language(s)).

Briefly, I take these two normative conducts as basic interactional rules of the practiced language policy of this particular ecology when English is placed in the multilingual mix:

a) label quests become (potentially) bilingual (with a stance) when the foreign language is used as the target language, and multilingual when the foreign language is introduced as the medium of instruction;
b) a mixed mode multilingual medium is legitimated, especially in CLIL, in order to facilitate the integration of language and content.

In the following section I analyse examples from the CLIL class that become more complex and that might open up a window to further imagine a flexible bilingual pedagogy (Creese & Blackledge 2010) that is based on constructing a preference towards a multilingual medium.

7.3.2.2. Multilingual label quests: a window to a flexible bilingual pedagogy in CLIL

If the legitimacy of languages seems to have gained complexity in the English and CLIL classes, the nature of label quests becomes a bit more complex, too. In this section I expand on Bonacina's (2013: 163) notion of 'multilingual label quest' as "label quests in which multiple languages are drawn upon", and take on the notion of 'medium' to talk about what medium children orient to in multilingual label quests. In the case of multilingual label quests, as well as in the concept of medium, different options are possible. I will talk about a 'parallel mode multilingual label quest' when the label or labels are assigned to a different

language than the one used in the question (or first turn); a 'half-way between mode multilingual label quest', when one of the speakers use various labels or features that belong to different languages while the other speaker sticks to one language; and I will refer to 'a mixed mode multilingual label quest' when the participants use their linguistic repertoire without attending to the linguistic origin of the elements they are using to participate in a label quest.

The vignette below illustrates my first observation in the CLIL class in School A. This is group A in Year 4 with the topic of the water cycle. I take this example as a prototypical event in the CLIL class as it repeats in my observations. I use this vignette to remark the two interactional features that have already become salient in my data when introducing English in the medium of classroom interaction: the permission to switch codes and the use of multilingual label quests. Note that I use the transcription conventions to represent speech in this vignette too (see appendix 3), that is, when I open quotation marks, italics means they are using English, Catalan is represented in bold, and Spanish is unmarked.

> The teacher introduces the topic and starts eliciting some words related to water, some students mumble some words, others use a louder voice, to which she responds with more questions like "*what do we use water for*?". After this brief brainstorming of ideas around the topic of water, the teacher asks the students to think about "natural water around them", question to which the students react excitedly, raising their hands impatiently bidding to answer. Some of them cannot wait for their turn and just shout out the answer. "*Raise your hand to talk*", says the teacher who collects the words on the whiteboard. Sea, lakes, rivers, oceans, waterfall... sometimes only repeating the English word provided by the students, others saying the Spanish alternative too: "*waterfall* cascada". Aisha mumbles a word that sounds like "pads", the teacher asks her whether she means "*puddle*" and then writes the word on the whiteboard while students enquire about the meaning of that word. The teacher draws a puddle first on the whiteboard to elicit the meaning, then she offers the Spanish and Catalan alternative, "un charco, **una bassa**", she says. After this introduction, they read from their books one by one. Students start reading in turns, at the teacher's call of their names. They struggle with the pronunciation of words. The teacher waits a bit and then repairs the pronunciation, often in an IRF pattern in which the student repeats the 'correct' version after the teacher in the last turn. After reading about bodies of water the students copy the comprehension questions on their notebook and

attempt to answer them. Some copy the neighbour, others ask the teacher for help. When they finish, the teacher tells them that they are now going to watch a video about the water cycle, Carlos jumps up and repeats in Spanish "el ciclo del agua" (=the water cycle). The teacher takes the chance to ask him what is "el ciclo del agua", but he does not answer, then she asks Lucía: "*what is the water cycle*", she was not paying attention, she hesitates and then she answers with a raising intonation "el círculo del agua?" (=the circle of water). She asks them to pay attention and puts the video on the projector. Once it is over, she asks again "*what is the water cycle*". Carla raises her hand and says "puedo decirlo en castellano?" (=can I say it in Spanish), the teacher replies "*yes up to you*". (Fieldnotes-10-CLILscience-Y4-GA-SA-04.04.16)

CLIL lessons are patterned always in a similar way and they usually start with a brainstorming, during which the children are very active, they continue with a reading and or listening activity with comprehension questions and end up with some sort of whole group review. The vignette above belongs to my first observation and it illustrates typical behaviour of the CLIL classes in my data pool, in which I made salient some features of language choice that are unique of CLIL classes. As for the teacher, she uses mostly English, but provides multilingual alternatives for keywords (as in the case of "puddle"), maybe to reinforce meaning (as in Martin 2003), maybe to equip the children with multilingual resources (as in Moore & Nikula 2016; Nikula & Moore 2019). In my data pool, students answer in all institutional languages to the teacher's questions, although they prefer to use Spanish and sometimes explicitly ask for permission to switch to Spanish to answer, especially when more than a keyword or a short answer is necessary (as the case of Carla here). This shows that in CLIL children orient to a half-way between mode and a mixed mode. At a first sight, I thought that this enthusiasm captured by many hands in the air biding to answer the teacher's questions and contribute to the display of vocabulary knowledge was an example of how CLIL seems to be increasing motivation, as reported in other studies (Doiz, Lasagabaster & Sierra 2014; Lasagabaster 2011; Sylvén & Thompson 2015), but up to this point of analysis, I want to add the possibility to consider this increase in motivation linked to the effect of the legitimacy of other languages that might also lower anxiety levels and feelings of shame, reported in the learning of foreign languages. In other words, the legitimacy of other languages in class might be a variable to consider when finding connections with CLIL and a higher motivation to learn and participate.

In the sections below, I illustrate how these features, which I see as part of a flexible bilingual pedagogy (Creese & Blackledge 2010), can increase motivation. I show this in the different variations that multilingual label quests take in CLIL interaction in my data pool. I start by illustrating 'multilingual label quests' that take 'a half-way between multilingual mode' and I finish by illustrating what 'mixed mode multilingual label quests' look like in CLIL. While a 'parallel mode bilingual quests' can be found in EFL (as illustrated above), 'half-way between multilingual label quests' and 'mixed mode quests' are more frequent behaviour in CLIL, most probably because of the need to integrate language and content and the need to equip the students with multilingual equivalents in the other institutional languages.

Half-way between multilingual label quests

I define 'half-way between multilingual label quests' as label quests in which multiple languages are drawn upon. In this interaction one of the speakers use various labels or features that belong to different languages while the other speaker sticks to one language. These types of interactional events normally happen in teacher-led activities in my data pool, such as brainstorming and reading comprehension checks. Below I illustrate these quests in these two types of events that provide opportunities for the creation of multilingual label quests in CLIL.

Brainstorming in CLIL: the active use of the multilingual repertoire

In the following sequence, the teacher is brainstorming the topic of the universe. The teacher keeps eliciting ideas about the universe, sometimes addressing students, at other times accepting the bidding of students who have raised their hands. The teacher, Pilar, normally starts the class by asking questions to the group and writing key words on the whiteboard in English. This usually serves the purpose of introducing a new topic or reviewing what they did in the last session. In these types of episodes, the teacher constructs a multilingual medium that provides opportunities for multilingual label quests. This is the second semester of Y5, students are between 10 and 11 years old. They are normally enthusiastic at this point of the class, willing to participate and give answers, it is normally the beginning of the class. In what follows I explore how they mobilize their multilingual repertoire in such instances.

Extract 7. 7

1	Pilar:	*what do you know about the universe*
2	Carla:	que es infinito (=that it is endless)
3	Pilar:	*ok / endless* {she writes on the board}

4	Cristiano:	sí es infinito hay un montón (=yes it is endless and there are loads)
5	Pilar:	*what else Ahmed what's in the universe* **què hi ha**? (=what is there)
6	Ahmed:	*planets*
7	Pilar:	*planets yes*
8	Cristiano:	agujeros negros (=black holes)
9	Pilar:	*wait you raise your hand to talk* {she is writing "planets" on the board} /
10		*what else more things? /// no? // Lucía?*
11	Lucía:	mhm agujeros negros? (=black holes?)
12	SS:	{laughter}
13	Pilar:	*yes black holes / what else / the sun the planets black holes*
14	Aisha:	*the stars*
15	Pilar:	*stars yes stars*

In line 1 the teacher asks an open question about the universe in English, and line 2 Carla replies in Spanish as an illustration of the parallel mode that is typical in CLIL and EFL. The teacher provides the English alternative and closes the turn in an IRF pattern. The feedback phase of the IRF overall accepts, but still repairs the Spanish alternative while giving the English word (line 3). Cristiano continues with a contribution in Spanish (line 4) and then the teacher repeats the question, this time repeating in Catalan and addressing Ahmed (line 5). The teacher accepts other alternatives by translating the question, but then Ahmed restores the English medium by providing an English word (line 6) while Cristiano uses Spanish to continue the list (line 8). The teacher does not accept Cristiano's answer, because he did not raise his hand and then asks Lucía, in an English (monolingual) medium. Lucía that was not paying attention, replies in Spanish repeating what Cristiano has just said with an intonation at the end indicating doubt and pretending that she was paying attention (line 11). The students laugh at her answer because she imitates Cristiano's answer. The teacher accepts it but repairs it in English, as she did in the previous turn in line 13. Aisha continues the list with a vocabulary item in English which is accepted and repeated in English (line 15), but no other alternatives are given. After this, Cristiano names "the big bang" and the teacher briefly comments on that and then continues brainstorming elements of the universe. This time she points to Mila who is always silent.

Extract 7. 8

1	Pilar:	ok / Mila **què saps tu de l'univers** / qué sabes qué hay en el universo
2		qué sabes tú que hay // *what's in the universe / no / nothing?*
3	Lucía:	erm galaxy

4	Pilar:	*a GALAXY ok there are galaxies ok galaxy* {she writes} / *what else* /
5		**galàxies sols estrelles** *planets*
6	Cristiano:	constelaciones
7	Pilar:	*constellations yes* {she writes}
8	Omar:	cometas
9	Carlos:	meteoritos
10	Pilar:	*ok commets* {she writes} *meteorite* {she writes}

The question addressed to Mila in line 1 is first phrased in Catalan then repeated in Spanish and finally in English. This behavior is a typical teacher behavior in EFL and CLIL in which the three institutional languages are used as resources, but in addressing Mila, who is a new child in the class and whose proficiency in the three languages is limited, the teacher is trying to equip her with the multilingual alternatives supported in school as well as displaying implicitly the institutional order of languages. Mila does not reply and Lucía takes the turn with an English word (line 2). The teacher takes it in the next turn, repeats it and writes it on the board in English, then she repeats the word in the Catalan alternative and provides a few other words in Catalan "galàxies, sols, estrelles" (=galaxies, suns, stars). She finishes the turn with an English label "planets" (line 4), restoring the English medium. Cristiano takes the next turn with a word in Spanish which is taken by the teacher in the next turn who provides an English alternative before accepting it (line 7). The same behavior follows in the next turns with "cometas, meteoritos" (=comets, meteorites) that are then accepted and turned into English on the board by the teacher.

Briefly, this illustrates how the teacher constructs a half-way between mode in multilingual label quests in which she accepts alternatives in Spanish and English. She always gives the English alternative when closing in a kind of IRF pattern. Pilar sometimes expands the multilingual label quest by providing the Catalan alternatives of certain labels. Nonetheless, brainstorming passages are not the only examples of opportunities when multilingual label quests can be created. Reading in group provides opportunities to display vocabulary knowledge using different linguistic resources. In what follows I illustrate how a multilingual medium is constructed in this kind of sequence.

Reading in CLIL: The passive use of the multilingual repertoire

In the extract below, the group is in Y5 and studying plant cells. The children are reading a text together while underlining important bits signaled by the teacher. Pilar checks

comprehension by asking questions that usually take the form of multilingual label quests (e.g., what is a cell wall?).

Extract 7. 9

1	Pilar:	*ok here we have to underline "plants cells"* **i aquí posarem un (=and here**
2		**we will use)** *also "plants cells also have"* **ja ho sabeu que de vegades**
3		**afegim parauletes eh que sí aquí (=you know that sometimes we add**
4		**little words eh that yes here** *"plants cells also have" "plants cells also*
5		*have" "plants cells also" fantastic Jasmin "plants cells also have" / "plants*
6		*cells also have" fantastic Daniela / what do they have? / a strong cell wall*
7		*what is a wall* **què és (=what is)** *a wall / cell wall*
8	Sx:	ºparedº (=a wall)
9	Sx:	muro? (=a wall)
10	Pilar:	un muro *YES* una pared *a cell wall which protects* **què fa aquesta paret**
11		**(=what does this wall do)** *protects*
12	Carlos:	protege
13	Pilar:	**protegeix (=protects)** *and gives the shape* **què és (what is)** *the shape*
14	Sx:	*shape*
15	Pilar:	*for example the shape of an animal cell is circle and this one is a one two*
16		*three four five six an hexagon that's the shape*
17	Carla:	la forma (=the shape)
18	Pilar:	*yes Carla well done* la forma *so the cell wall give it its the shape* **li dóna**
19		**sa forma a sa cèl.lula (=it gives the shape of the cell)** *and the other part*
20		*the main important Marisa can you go on reading please chloroplant*

The teacher starts the turn with a multilingual mixed mode medium in which she uses both English and Catalan to introduce the topic of plant cells. The label quest starts for "cell wall", and the question is phrased first in English "what is a wall", and then in a mixed mode using Catalan and the keyword in English "**què és** a wall"? (line 7). In the phrasing of the second question, Pilar indicates that she is looking for a translation of the word "wall" as a comprehension check, however, in practice, many variations could follow. Though instead, what follows is what the teacher expects, the translation of the vocabulary item "wall" which is provided in two synonym lexical items in Spanish: "muro" and "pared" (line 8 and 9). The attitude that continues this sequence reflects an 'I-have-seen-all-this-before' event (Gafaranga & Torras 2001: 198), that is, it is understood as the normative conduct of class A in dealing with multilingual label quests. In the next turn, the teacher accepts those two

words by repeating them and then expands the question while she continues reading (line 10). The question is in Catalan and includes the translation label that was given in the previous turn but in the Catalan alternative ("paret"): "**què fa aquesta paret** *protects" (line 10-11).* Again, leaving the keyword in English and inviting for a translation. In the next turn, Carlos gives the Spanish alternative (line 12) and the teacher gives the Catalan alternative (line 13). She continues expanding the label quest in the same way "**què és** *the shape***".** A student repeats the key word and the teacher repeats the question by giving an example in a monolingual (English) medium (line 15-16). Carla replies "la forma", the Spanish alternative. This is accepted with a "well done" a repetition of the word in Spanish followed by the English phrase again and a Catalan alternative next (line 18-19). In sum, in this extract, it is illustrated how the teacher constructs a multilingual medium by creating label quests, similarly to what Bonacina's (2013) called translation quests, however, unlike her study the expected answer seems to be always the Spanish alternative followed by the expansion of that label in Catalan by the teacher, no other language is visible or encouraged. This example, further illustrates how half-way between multilingual label quests are established as normative conduct in the practiced language policy of group A in the CLIL classroom.

Mixed mode multilingual label quests

I define 'mixed mode multilingual label quests' as label quests in which multiple languages are drawn upon. In this interaction the participants use their linguistic repertoire without attending to the linguistic origin of the elements they are using. These types of interactional events generally occur when the activity in place is student-led in my data pool. Peer interaction, as we have seen, takes the preferred monolingual Spanish medium, however, when trying to accomplish tasks in CLIL, a type of multilingual label quest is created that takes less notice of linguistic boundaries when vocabulary items are being negotiated. Examples of the multilingual medium mixed mode are not necessarily prompted by label quests, but by group quests to accomplish a certain activity involving vocabulary learning. For this reason, I will refer here to the notion of 'label quests' more broadly to include what we could call 'word quests' more generally. In word quests, the first turn might be different from a label quest, but the purpose of the interaction is shared in that in both events participants try to make sense of vocabulary items by using language(s) and labels.

Below, I illustrate two examples of co-learning and how the children construct a multilingual medium in a mixed mode that requires the use of multilingual resources: an example from a

classification activity in a social science lesson, in which a label quest turns into a word quest, and an example of a group presentation, end product of a two-day group research, that prompts the creative use of language by playing with words or labels.

Group work: co-learning and the use of the linguistic repertoire

On occasion, the encounter with new keywords prompts a playful use of language illustrating how a multilingual medium in a mixed mode is constructed. This use of language, that some would coin as translanguaging (García & Li Wei 2014) entails a sense of criticality (understanding of the norms) and creativity (the flouting of the norms) (Li Wei 2011) and it typically results into a creative form of language. Such processes are key in understanding that a multilingual speaker is both learning multilingually and being multilingual in class (Moore & Nikula 2016; Nikula & Moore 2019). The following is an example of peer talk. The group is in Y5 and they are learning about the Spanish Constitution. In this particular task, they are sorting out strips of paper that display sentences which must be classified into a right or a responsibility for citizens. In this example, the group is working with the sentence "we must protect the environment", and it illustrates the process that they follow to accomplish the task multilingually. I tag this sequence as a multilingual label quest especially from line 7: "*environment* qué sería en español?", but Cristiano initiates the word quest earlier in line 4.

Extract 7. 10

1	Santi	*we must protect the envi-* ah vale {he reads the strip of paper}
2	Cristiano:	esto es de:-
3	Santi:	que tenemos que proteger mucho el en- erm e:l
4	Cristiano:	environimento o algo así
5	Santi:	{laughter} es que es tonto tío
6	Cristiano:	ya ya ya
7	Santi:	*environment* {he reads as it is spelled} qué sería en español
8	Lucía:	el qué a ver
9	Santi:	*environment*
10	Lucía:	*environment*
11	Santi:	sólo *environment* búscalo por el diccionario
12	Lucía:	está en catalán esto también *environment* cómo se dice en catalán
13	Santi:	a ver buscas *environment* en inglés y te lo dirá en catalán y en catalán lo
14		traducimos al español

15 Lucía (3) que no sale
16 Santi: {he takes the dictionary an looks for the word} *environment* aquí está
17 Cristiano: toma ya
18 Santi: erm vale quita erm / erm **ambient medi ambient**
19 Cristiano: erm responsabilidad
20 Lucía: *protect*- erm protegemos el medio ambiente
21 Cristiano: es responsabilidad eso no?
22 Santi: vale sí sería responsabilidad
23 Lucía tenemos que apuntarlo
24 Cristiano: una responsabilidad es proteger el medio ambiente

Translation

1 Santi *we must protect the envi*- ah ok {he reads the strip of paper}
2 Cristiano: this i:s-
3 Santi: we have to protect a lot the en- erm the:
4 Cristiano: environimento or something like that
5 Santi: {laughter} don't be silly dude
6 Cristiano: yes yes yes
7 Santi: *environment* {he reads as it is spelled} what would it be in Spanish
8 Lucía: what let me see
9 Santi: *environment*
10 Lucía: *environment*
11 Santi: only *environment* look it up in the dictionary
12 Lucía: it is in Catalan this also *environment* how do you say it in Catalan
13 Santi: I mean look environment up in English and it will tell you in Catalan then
14 we can translate into Spanish
15 Lucía (3) but it is not here
16 Santi: {he takes the dictionary an looks for the word} *environment* here it is
17 Cristiano: done
18 Santi: erm ok go away erm / erm **environment environment**
19 Cristiano: erm responsibility
20 Lucía: *protect*- erm we protect the environment
21 Cristiano: that is a responsibility right?
22 Santi: ok yes it would be a responsibility
23 Lucía we have to write it down
24 Cristiano: a responsibility is to protect the environment

This is a label quest that is student-initiated (line 7) while accomplishing a pedagogical task. The vocabulary item that they are negotiating is “environment”. Santi starts the quest by reading the statement “we must protect the environment” which they must classify into responsibility or right, but he cannnot pronounce the word “environment” and self-interrupts. Cristiano tries the classification in the next turn, but self-interrupts as well. In line 3, Santi attempts a translation, but he misses the meaning of the key word. Cristiano takes it up in line 4 by using language creatively in the creation of the label “environimento”. In this multilingual label quest, Cristiano has Spanishized the word “environment” by turning it into a masculine noun following the Spanish morphological rules by adding a “o” at the end “environimento”. This label that he has invented has also an “i” between the n and m because this consonant cluster is difficult to pronounce in Spanish and the insertion of a vowel sound facilitates the pronunciation of the word following Spanish rules.

In this multilingual medium that we could classify as mixed mode, the knowledge of two languages is displayed in one label without orienting to its linguistic origin. However, in the next turn, line 5, we find laughter plus an explicit comment categorizing Cristiano as silly. This shows that a norm has been transgressed. Namely that languages should be kept separate. Interestingly, the mixing of languages is not only funny but it also indexes here something related to intelligence. In the next lines they continue while trying to pronounce the word correctly and in English, Santi asks Lucía to look up the word in the dictionary, but she complains because they want to find out the Spanish term and the dictionary is in Catalan. Santi tells her that they can look up the translation in Catalan and then translate it into Spanish (line 13-14). This is the process that this group follows to accomplish the task multilingually and it also shows the order of languages in schools in this context.

Another example of multilingual word quest is presented in the following example of a group presentation in which the teacher tries to elicit information to check comprehension of what they are reading. In this example, the teacher does not initiate a label quest, but rather she poses a clarification request, however the children respond to it in the same way as they do to label quests.

In the following extract, the group is in Y6 and they are presenting a project about the European Union in which each group had to look for information about a member country. In the following extract, the group of Lucía (Carlos, Nadia and Jasmin) are presenting their project about Hungary.

Extract 7. 11

1	Pilar:	shh *ready*?
2	Cristiano:	no
3	Pilar:	eh / *ready*? Carlos, Lucía, Jasmin, Nadia
4	Jasmin:	{she reads in English}
5	Carlos:	{reading} *the population of Hungary is about () in Hungary there is a*
6		*normal climate*
7	Lucía:	{she reads about festivals}
8	Nadia:	{she reads but has a lot of trouble}
9	Pilar:	**ok** vale **avam / shh un segon / què me podeu explicar de Hungria (=ok** ok **wait / shh one second / what can you explain about Hungary)**
10	Sx:	que tiene hambre (= that it is hungry)
11	SS:	{laughter}

The presentation starts with Jasmin who starts reading her part (line 4). The others follow, some of them have rehearsed and read with less trouble, others hesitate more, but all of them read in a monolingual (English) medium giving the impression that they do not understand what they are saying. This is why the teacher interrupts them in line 9 and switching to Catalan asks them "what can you tell me about Hungary" initiating a kind of multilingual clarification request that is followed by a turn in which a humorous communicative effect is intended (line 10: "que tiene hambre"). The question that the teacher uses is not necessarily initiating a label quest, neither is the answer per se a label, however, I interpret line 10 as an answer that is produced out of four labels from two different languages. For this, it elicits a sequence similar to a mixed mode multilingual label quest in which an answer is created by playing multilingually with the words *hunger*, *Hungary* and hambre, Hungría. The joke is possible because both labels in English are pronounced similarly (hunger and Hungary) and then hunger is translated into Spanish causing laughter (line 11). This is a joke that it is only possible when both English and Spanish are activated in the class and its effect can only be humorous when the audience of the joke shares the same repertoire. This creative use of language is possible in this presentation due to the flexible use of their linguistic repertoires.

Briefly, multilingual label quests, traditionally assigned to teacher-led lessons, can also be student-initiated in the form of word quests and they can trigger much more creative and mixed mode responses that show processes of criticality and creativity in language learning and in learning how to be multilingual (Li Wei 2011). This use of multilingual label and word quests is similar to what has been tagged as translanguaging and perhaps we could call

these last examples ‘translanguaging label quests’, that is, a multilingual display of knowledge of one’s linguistic repertoire that involves creativity and criticality in participating in label or word quests.

7.4. Concluding remarks

In this chapter, I have argued that students orient to both a monolingual and a multilingual medium in school. L1 teaching is oriented towards monolingualism and FL teaching sets a scene for a multilingual medium, in which mostly a parallel mode or a half-way between mode is used. In CLIL the need to integrate content and language and the flexible use of language(s) due to different factors constructs a space where multilingualism is legitimated and children orient to a parallel mode, a half-way between mode and a mixed mode. I call the type of mixed mode multilingual label quest that I showed above in a CLIL context, ‘translanguaging label quest’. I define TL label quests as a multilingual display of knowledge of one’s linguistic repertoire that involves creativity and criticality in participating in a label quest or a word quest. Yet, in the analysis of multilingual practices showed above, only institutional languages are participating as linguistic resources in this particular context. Other languages remain invisible, silencing a part of the group or obstructing full participation in the construction of knowledge and in building vocabulary knowledge.

8. Affect and emotion

8.1. Introduction

In this chapter, I explore the affective practices of two cases in group A, Lucía and Carlos. These two cases have been briefly introduced in chapter 5 when zooming in the group through the main voices of this ethnography, but their characterisation is expanded here and their language portraits are only present in this chapter where they are analysed through an affective lens. Parts of the extracts presented here as secondary data, that is, extracts that I use to triangulate my analysis on affect, are also used in chapter 6 (about discourses and ideologies). They are here necessary to complete the analysis on affect as affect is considered to be completed in discourse (Wetherell 2013b). The analysis below helps to theorise affect and emotion as experienced by multilingual children at school.

In the theoretical framework I have conceptualised affect by reviewing the literature on affect studies. In education, research on emotions as pre-defined categories is vast, however, the concept of affect, as defined in chapter 3, section 3, is not as popular. I argue that this adds another layer to the study of emotions and to how children are moved and move in contact with language(s). In the conceptualisation of affect, I have located affective practices as the smallest units of analysis in studies of affect and emotion and I have moved the concept to research in education by focusing on studies on shame.

In sum, this chapter reports on a qualitative investigation of affect and emotion that aims at exploring what affective practices (Wetherell 2012) can tell us about the lived experience of language of multilingual children at school.

8.2. Affect and emotion in school A

8.2.1. Affective practices

The notion of affective practice was developed by Wetherell in different publications (2012, 2013a, 2013b, 2015) in an attempt to extend the account of social practices to the study of affect and emotion. In her theorisation, she argues that even if affect and emotion are not usually attached to lists of common social practices (e.g., ways of cooking, of consuming, of working, of investigating, etc.), social practice perspectives have a lot to offer to research on affect (Wetherell 2013a).

The concept of affective practice becomes interesting to her because affective practices are not usually unique: "An affective practices approach is particularly focused on recognisable repetitions. The repetitions of practice, however, are rarely precise duplicates; they bear a more or less fuzzy resemblance to what has gone before" (Wetherell 2013a: 235). This is where affective practices are embedded in memories and histories. For example, when a child gets used to laugh at a strange (i.e., non-legitimate) language or when a child that uses a strange language is laughed at, we know that there is more to it. And here is where the notion of habitus becomes interesting, in the repetition or in the familiar:

> Bourdieu's (1984, 1990, 1998) notion of habitus, perhaps the best known practice approach, assumes, for example, that embodied dispositions such as accents, body shapes, skills and capacities become laid down in people as they practice and acquire a habitus, and these are then carried forward as natural and obvious ways to act in new situations. (Wetherell 2013a: 234)

Wetherell (2012: 19) defines affective practices as "a figuration where body possibilities and routines become recruited or entangled together with meaning making and with other social and material figurations". In trying to provide a definition, however, she also admits the difficulty in setting boundaries around what counts as affective practice and what does not. This is because one can argue that there is affect in every social action, but the point is to find a method to investigate affect in a way that the subject is the starting point and not only a body that is hit by an affect and turns into tears, laughter, sweat, palpitations or blushes. This takes a stance towards affect studies that include agency in their conceptualisations (e.g., Song & Park 2019).

For the analysis here, I understand that "affect is always 'turned on' and 'simmering', moving along, since social action is continually embodied" (Wetherell 2012: 12) but there are episodes when the body becomes more intrusive than during others (e.g., a child's tantrum, a self-aggrandising narrative, or a bounded experience of joy). These intense episodes that involve the body are the ones that I will analyse. In fact, the conceptualisation of affective practices captures this "new interest in the ways in which bodies are pushed and pulled in contemporary social formations, in the 'engineering' of affective responses" (Wetherell 2015: 1-2).

In sum, an affective practice approach takes an understanding that we are moved by emotions, that is, our bodies, what we do, act and think, is in part determined by emotion.

> In affective practice, bits of the body (e.g., facial muscles, thalamic-amygdala pathways in the brain, heart rate, regions of the prefrontal cortex, sweat glands, etc.)

> get patterned together with feelings and thoughts, interaction patterns and relationships, narratives and interpretative repertoires, social relations, personal histories, and ways of life. (Wetherell 2012: 13-14)

Wetherell goes beyond the psychological schema of basic emotions, which she argues, can only tell part of the story. She proposes to move discussions to emotion and affect. However, affect is difficult to grasp, and often discussed in a theoretical realm (see chapter 3, section 3). She proposes that affective practices might be the smallest units of analysis to discuss affect and emotion from a more subjective perspective and where the body (as human) becomes more intrusive.

She puts the example of the lump in the throat that she felt in an Anzac memorial service in New Zealand. Similarly, I will use 'laughter' and 'foot shaking' as examples of affective practices, following Wetherell, McConville and McCreanor (2020). Therefore, analytically, affective practices in my research, look like episodes "where the body has been more intrusive than it ordinarily is", "where there is notable talk occurring about emotion and feelings" and "where something personally significant seems to have occurred that someone wants to mark" (Wetherell 2012: 97).

Following Wetherell, I do not completely rule out the discursive dimension when analysing affect and emotion, but I argue that affective practices are completed in discourse. Therefore, I analyse both situated practices and metalinguistic commentaries and incorporate insights of conversation analysis and discursive psychology in my analysis (Wetherell 2015).

8.3. Laughter and foot shaking as affective practices

8.3.1. The case of Lucía

Lucía is 10 when I arrive at the school and she is depicted in my fieldnotes as a very active child. My fieldnotes capture her constant enthusiasm in class embodied in her constant raising of hands to answer every question, shaking and raising it higher to catch the attention of the teacher. She also has the need to stand up frequently, and she does so by often asking permission to go to the toilet or to sharpen her pencil, which are the only instances where permission to stand up is usually granted by the teacher.

She usually speaks in Spanish to her peers. In class she normally addresses me and the teachers in Catalan and uses it as well to perform tasks, but when off-task in class she uses Spanish. She also uses Catalan, or a mix of Catalan and Spanish in the Catalan class and tries to speak English in the English and CLIL classes, but she is not proficient enough. She loves

English, as she says in the background questionnaire. She uses a mix of languages in the English and CLIL class with mainly key words/technical vocabulary in English and other utterances in Catalan, Spanish or a mix, depending on who she addresses to. In her first portrait she talks about school languages (Catalan, Spanish and English) as duties. On the contrary, her affiliation to her home language is a bit more complex. This is her first language portrait when she is in Y5.

Figure 16. Lucía's language portrait

Here, she portrays Romanian, Turkish, Spanish, Catalan and English and uses the flags of the countries where these languages are spoken to represent them. In her comment, affective notes are more attached to Romanian: "Romanian is my language", she says, because she was born there. In the extract below, from the first interview with her, she elaborates further on why she used Romanian in her head.

Extract 8. 1

Lucía: y el español sí que / sí que sí **que:: xerro i rumà l'he posat al cap perquè és com el meu centre central és el me:u / com dir-te que és el // {laughing} és el meu país i és el que més parlo de tots els idiomes que sé és lo que més parlo**

Translation

Lucía: Spanish yes I / yes **I speak it and Romanian I have it in the head because it is like my central centre it is my / how to tell you that it is my // {laughing} it is my country and it is what I speak the most of all these languages that I know it is the one that I speak the most**

In her account of her language portrait, Lucía draws on the relationship between languages and countries by choosing to represent languages with flags. The fact that flags are icons for countries and languages, allows her to claim ownership of Romania and its language in one go.

The use of symbols such as flags, as well as hearts, are sometimes used in language portraits to represent languages and what languages mean for the speaking subject. They normally invoke affects of pride and love, mirroring the discourses that romanticize languages (discussed in chapter 6). However, and even though children do not use flags with any conscious political meaning, by using them they reproduce discourses of territoriality and by linking one language to one flag (and territory) support the construction of a one-to-one relationship between a nation and a language. This is linked to the process of the territorialisation of languages that is naturalized in children's discourses and that reinforce the conceptualisation of languages as bounded entities and national discourses of pride and belonging as national pride.

Lucía uses Spanish for her final comment in year 5 but Catalan to me during the interview. However, in year 6, her constant translanguaging in Catalan and Spanish has disappeared, and she now uses Spanish most of the time; she is also much less consistent in language choice when addressing teachers or me, but she sticks to only one. Now, in her interviews with me, she uses mainly Spanish, but her comment is recorded in Romanian. She uses her home language motivated by Fatima, who tells her that she already did it in Arabic in year 5 and it was ok.

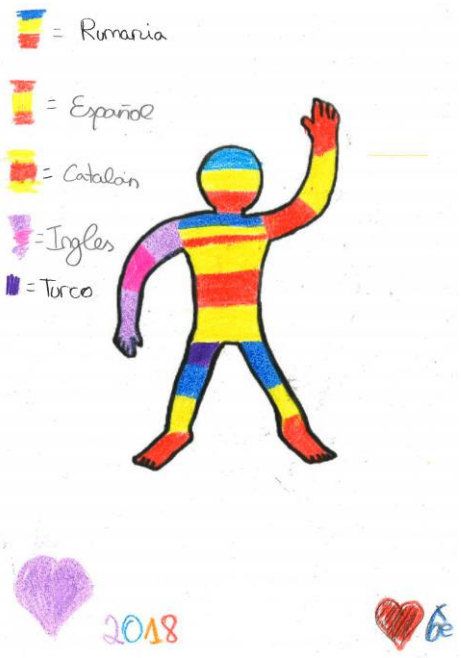

Figure 17. Lucía's language portrait 2

Lucía keeps using flags to represent languages, though now English has a kind of imaginary flag with purple tones and Turkish has no flag anymore. She still portrays the same languages: Romanian, Spanish, Catalan, English and Turkish. This time, the order has changed a bit, and Turkish is at the end. She does not speak Turkish, but her mother's partner is Turkish and she can say a few words, she tells me. In what follows I analyse her comment in Y6 and display the first affective practice that emerges through the analysis of her case.

8.3.1.1. Laughter

As mentioned, Fatima goes to Lucía and tells her that she is going to do her final comment on the language portrait in Arabic. Lucía is not sure whether that is allowed and asks me, to confirm, and then goes to the teacher to ask for permission. We tell her that they can use any language they want. Then, she decides to do it in Romanian. She goes to the separate room to record the comment with Fatima. They start laughing, none of them wants to be the first one, Lucía feels embarrassed, she says. Finally, Fatima starts and then Lucía follows. This is Lucía's comment.

Extract 8. 2

Lucía: prima mea erm idiomă erm să vorbesc în în română erm dup-aia erm // mhm // {laughing} // erm mana stângă vorbesc cu ba nu undi e mana stangă vorbesc engleză / în mana dreaptă vorbesc erm / vorbesc spaniolă și în erm în centru vorbesc iar romană erm în burtă vorbesc {laughing} erm catalana în picioare erm

Fatima: picioare {laughing}

Lucía: {laughing} în picioare {laughing} ce e mov e picioare vorbesc turc si foar' vorbesc foarte putin în și dupaia în picioru stâng erm vorbesc iar română și în dreptul română așa că principala meaaa idiomă e romană / Pa

Translation

Lucía: my: first erm *idiom* erm to speak is Romanian erm then erm // mhm // {laughing} // erm my left hand I speak with *well* where the left hand I speak English / in my right hand I speak erm / speak Spanish and in erm i:n the centre I speak Romanian too erm in my belly I speak {laughing} I erm Catalan in my feet erm

Fatima: feet {laughing}

Lucía: {laughing} in my feet {laughing} in my left foot what is purple I speak *Turk[ish]* and I speak very little in and after that in my left leg erm I speak Romanian again and in my right Romanian is my main *idiom* is Romanian / bye

In her comment, Lucía shows a lot of hesitation which can have several interpretations. On the one hand, it might be a sign that she is embarrassed, as she says, before Fatima and her start the recording, or/and it can also be a sign that she is looking for the words in Romanian, that she does not always remember (as she tells me in the interview below). The translator of this quote also commented that she has a strong Spanish accent when talking in Romanian, thus Spanish can be assumed to be her dominant language, and that she uses a Moldavian dialect, which gives more biographical information about her trajectory. In fact, most migrants that are called Romanians in Spain come from Moldovia. In her comment, she sometimes uses words that might be a mix of Catalan/Spanish and Romanian like "idioma". The affective display that I want to mark here is the laughter that starts with Fatima's interruption, who repeats a word that she found funny. In the next line, Lucía also laughs, repeats the word and laughs again.

In this episode, we can argue that Lucía "experiences herself—through the eyes or ears of the others" for the first time and she perceives herself as different (Busch 2017: 341). This laughter is an affective practice that hides feelings of shame in which something strange or funny has occurred that is marked. If feelings of shame are analysed through a phenomenological perspective, shame is triggered by the violation of a norm.

> We are ashamed about transgressing or disregarding a norm, standard, or ideal; we feel shame before others, or, having assimilated the norms, we feel shame before ourselves. The term 'norm' makes it clear that the definition of things that cause shame is not universal, but is a product of history and society. The emergence of the feeling of shame is based on a change of perspective: the person who, as a living body [corps vivant], is involved in an action that initially causes him or her no

> concern suddenly assumes an external view of himself/herself as an object body [corps physique], and thus sees his or her action in another light, as the transgression of a norm. (Busch 2017: 353)

The norm that has been violated here, is the monolingual norm. That is also evidenced in that this is the first time I hear a non-institutional language in school.

When Fatima and Lucía finish the recording they come back to the class laughing and join their group. Fatima is still laughing at the word.

Extract 8. 3

Fatima:	picioare {laughing}
Lucía:	picioare
Fatima:	picioare catalana / catalana {to Lucía} y tú no has cogido nada de lo que he dicho
Lucía:	qué
Fatima:	{to Lucía} has escuchado lo que he dicho?
Lucía:	sí pero qué-
Fatima:	te acuerdas de alguna palabra que he dicho?
Lucía:	salam {laughing}
Fatima:	picioare qué es qué significa picioare
Lucía:	pies
Fatima:	{laughing} picioare {to the group} yo lo he dicho en árabe
Jasmin:	y tú?
Lucía:	[y yo en Rumano]
Fatima:	[y ella en picioare] {laughing} picioare catalana {laughing} picioare
Lucía:	picioare

Translation

Fatima:	picioare {laughing}
Lucía:	picioare
Fatima:	picioare catalana / catalana {to Lucía} and you didn't get anything I've said
Lucía:	what
Fatima:	{to Lucía} did you listen to what I've said?
Lucía:	yes but what-
Fatima:	do you remember any word that I've said?
Lucía:	salam {laughing}
Fatima:	picioare what is the meaning of picioare

Lucía: pies

Fatima: {laughing} picioare {to the group} I said it in Arabic

Jasmin: and you?

Lucía: [and I in Romanian]

Fatima: [and she in picioare] {laughing} picioare catalana {laughing} picioare

Lucía: picioare

In line one Fatima repeats the 'funny' word "picioare" and laughs. Then Lucía repeats it as if correcting Fatima, who goes on laughing at what Lucía said in the next turn with "picioare catalana" and then assumes that she did not get anything she said. In the next line, Lucía asks for a clarification with a "qué" and Fatima re-phrases the question, this time with a raising intonation. Lucía says yes, but asks for another clarification and Fatima asks a more specific question asking whether she got any word in Arabic. Lucía replies "salam" and laughs. This word is part of the repertoire of the school, and it is common to hear it. Then Fatima repeats "picioare" and asks her for the meaning of it. Lucía replies "feet". Fatima goes on laughing and repeating the word again. Then she addresses the group and tells them as if proud of it that she recorded the comment in Arabic, making them all witnesses of the 'funny incident' and her pride of using Arabic. Jasmin, who also speaks Arabic (Berber) is a bit surprised and asks Lucía what she did then. In the next turn, Lucía says she did the recording in Romanian, and Fatima, overlapping and laughing says that she did it in "picioare". She laughs and repeats the phrase that Lucía used in her comment "picioare catalana" and keeps laughing and repeating. Lucía replies repeating the word correctly "picioare" and the incident is closed.

In this continuation of the 'funny incident' that was initiated in the final comment of Lucía's portrait, we can see the experience of transgressing a norm, an experience of difference to the ears of others. These experiences can have consequences in the linguistic behaviour of children:

> An accumulation of situations of shame can become concentrated into particular dispositions or attitudes, such as feelings of inferiority or shyness. In terms of linguistic experience, this may mean that people stop speaking a low-prestige minority language in public, that they give it up completely, or that they avoid speaking in public at all, regardless of language. Sudden transitions to other feelings may also occur, for example, from shame to fear (e.g., of sanctions) or from shame to anger. (Busch 2017: 353)

The meaning of the affective response manifested in laughter is completed in discourse, in the story of Lucía: "A central part of affective practices consists of accounts and narratives

of affect, past, present and future" (Wetherell 2012: 93). Lucía's representation of emotions in talk become crucial to understand the affective practice of laughter and its embodied meaning. Below, I move from Lucía's physical sensation of laughter as embarrassment to declarations of shame.

8.3.1.2. "At school, I don't want to speak Romanian"

In the following excerpt, I am interviewing Lucía and Fatima. This is the first interview with them. It takes place a day after they did their language portraits and they are answering the question of how they speak in school.

Extract 8. 4

Lucía: **jo aquí parlo erm castellà a la hora de castellà català a la hora de català i / un poquet de anglès a la hora de anglès perquè na Pilar vol que ho entendem millor i nos lo diu en espanyol però a mi amb la gent de l'escola no vull parla rumà** o cualquier **idioma que sé perquè si no poden pensar malament i jo que sé poden pensar que li estem insultant o que li estem diguent coses lletges i per això vull parlar castellà**

Translation

Lucía: **here I speak erm Spanish in the Spanish class Catalan in the Catalan class and / a little bit of English in the English class because Pilar wants us to understand it better and she explains in Spanish but with the people at school I don't want to speak Romanian** or any other **language that I know because if I do they can think ill of me and I don't know they can think that I am calling them names or that I say bad things and because of that I want to speak Spanish**

Lucía thinks that using her home language at school is rude. She does not see it as a spontaneous form of language, but she sees it as a form of speech (or a resource) that constraints and obstructs communication, excluding outsiders (Martín Rojo 2010).

This "No vull que pensin malament" (=I do not want them to think ill of me) is a theme that has already been discussed in the uncovering of decapitalization processes in multilingual school contexts as linguistic paranoia (Martín Rojo 2010). By rationalizing this ideology, Lucía and Fatima are delegitimizing the use of their home language and reproducing monolingual ideologies. In order to fit in, they ban themselves to use their home languages at school.

Martín Rojo (2010) links it to Haviland's (2003: 771) conceptualisation of linguistic paranoia: "it is presumed that when your interlocutor uses a language you cannot understand, it can only be because they are saying something they do not want you to understand, probably because whatever is being said is 'against you'".

8.3.1.3. "I get confused and I speak Spanish and Romanian"

In the following two extracts, from the second interview (in Year 6), she tells me how she speaks at home and what she thinks about how she speaks at home.

Extract 8. 5

Lucía: **pues jo quan parlo amb la meva mare rumà mmm** claro como aquí **parlo molt de: espanyol me** con- **me li- erm me faig un lio i erm i: parlo castellà i rumà i si alguna vegada no {laughing} no** o sea **estic parlant rumà però no me'n recordo d'una paraula la mesclo i la dic en castellà i per això crec que té que canviar**

Translation

Lucía: **so me when I speak with my mother in Romanian mmm** then since here **I speak a lot o:f Spanish I** with- **I confuse- erm I get confused a:nd erm I I speak Spanish and Romanian and yes sometimes no {laughing} no** I mean **I am talking in Romanian but I don't remember a word I mix it and I say it in Spanish and so I think this needs to change**

Lucía tells me that she mixes languages at home. For her, there are two reasons for this, first, because she speaks a lot of Spanish at school, and second because she does not remember the word in Romanian. According to her, because of these two reasons, she gets confused and she mixes languages. She conceptualizes this mixing of languages (or translanguaging) as something bad, something that she does not like and something that needs to change (see chapter 6 for more on the analysis of 'change'). Translanguaging (or the mixing of languages) is conceptualized as a language practice that is used when someone gets confused because s/he speaks other languages in other spaces and as a practice that someone takes when they cannot (temporarily) remember a word that belongs to the language they were initially speaking. This conceptualization of translanguaging, as a sign of what in the past was called semilinguality, that is, a sign of poor proficiency, together with the belief that languages are finite objects that one can master by knowing all the words, is the key in the reproduction of monoglossic ideologies that position multilingual speakers as deficient speakers and heteroglossic practices as bad language. By reproducing such ideologies, Lucía is decapitalizing her home language practices as well as decentralizing her 'main' language

from her multilingual self, since she only masters it partially.

8.3.1.4. "I don't like mixing"

In the interview, Lucía further elaborates on the issue of translanguaging with the argument that it is her language and she should know all the words.

Extract 8. 6

Lucía: **no m'agrada erm / baratar idiomes i: jo crec que és el meu idioma i el tinc que erm que: sebre totes les paraules i tot i aixines no mesclar perquè a jo no m'agrada res mesclar però però er però: algunes vegades que no me'n recordo d'alguna paraula tinc que baratar ai tinc que mesclar però no m'agrada**

Translation

Lucía: **I don't like erm / mixing languages a:nd I think that it is my language and I have to erm tha:t to know all the words and all and then I won't mix it because I don't like it to mix but bu:t er but sometimes that I don't remember a word I have to mix aish I have to mix but I don't like it**

In the extract above we see Lucía's position about language mixing, she does not like it because she thinks it is a sign that you do not know the language well, or that you do not know all the words of the language. The idea that you have one language, that it is yours and that you should know all the words of that language is an ideology embedded in the monolingual habitus of the school system, in the pursue of a monolingual ideal that does not exist, but that guides the steps of children in learning languages and of teachers in teaching them.

8.3.2. The case of Carlos

Carlos is 10 when I start my study in school A. He rarely made eye contact with me and he hardly ever smiled during any of my stays. With his classmates he is constantly grumpy or careless, but no one normally messes with him, on the contrary, mocking and teasing the others in a low voice is his normal habit. This is captured in my recorders, but teachers portrayed him as well-behaved, sweet, and a successful student, which is probably because he gets good grades and he is normally silent, not causing any trouble. The Catalan teacher thinks he does not like Catalan, and although I know that it is nothing personal to her, she is right. In CLIL and English, he is always very active, raising his hands to any question and answering in English most of the time. He loves English, he says in the background questionnaire. The teacher tells me that he takes extra classes after school and that he himself

saves money to take the Trinity exam that the school offers, since his mother does not want to spend money on it. They do not have a lot of money at home, the teacher tells me, and the family is not that invested in his studies, but more focused on survival after migration, so money for education is not a priority. Carlos is very charming, and aware of it, related also to the fact that apparently he was a child model for a clothes brand. This information was provided by the teachers, who said Carlos had boasted about it at that time when in school, but I do not have this anywhere in the data elicited from him.

8.3.2.1. Foot shaking

In year 5, Carlos is late to the class when we do the language portrait, because of a doctor's appointment. When he arrives it takes him some time to get into the task, having missed the instructions. I tell his group to give him the instructions in an attempt to get some data on how the children themselves would give instructions, since it is one of the challenges of doing language portraits. This is his language portrait in Year 5.

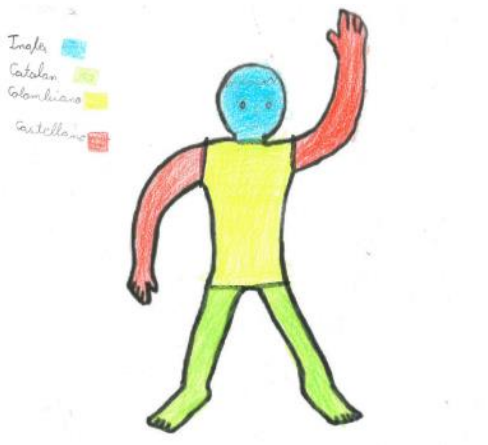

Figure 18. Carlos' language portrait

Extract 8. 7

1	Carlos:	yo sé cuatro idiomas que son el inglés el colombiano y el castellano / para mí
2		el inglés es como mi cabeza porque sé un montón / y el catalán es como bueno /
3		es como para mí que estuviese e:n en los pies bueno voy a pasar al colombiano
4		el colombiano para mí el colombiano es como mi cuerpo entero porque: /
5		porque: para mí el colombiano es como si corriese por mis venas {giggling}
6		porque tengo toda mi familia es colombiano / erm / s- del resto soy yo el único
7		esp- español que: nació e:rm {giggling} y el colombiano corre por mis venas
8		así {giggling} el castellano lo tengo en los brazos porque: / cada vez que / e:rm
9		cuando escribo hay veces en castellano / escribo muy muy muy muy muy
10		rápido / entonces para mí es como si lo tuviese en los brazos porque para mí

es- lo escribo muy rápido y: / tardo muy poco / tardo muy poco y hago much-
por ejemplo si me dejan deberes los saco enseguida si son de castellano / me:-
es como si estuvieran un poco relacionados con mi cerebro / erm mi: / el
catalán es para mí como: / mis pies porque hay veces que en catalán no
entiendo muchas cosas / y: los pies me empiezan a temblar / es como si
estuviera nervioso y el- y cuando estoy hablando en catalán- o sea / me siento
cómodo con todos los idiomas menos el catalán que cuando estoy hablando me
pongo un poco nervioso y empiezo a mover un poco los pies porque {giggling}
no sé muy bien lo que me dicen entonces es como si: o sea para mí el catalán
es como: / es como mi barriga si me pongo muy nervioso la barriga me duele

Translation

Carlos: I know four languages that are English Colombian and Spanish for me
English is like my head because I know loads / and Catalan is like well /
is like for me it's like if it was in my feet ok well I will start with Colombian
Colombian for me Colombian is like my whole body because: / because: for
me Colombian is like if it ran through my veins {giggling} because I have all
my family is Colombian / erm / s- the rest I am the only Spa- Spanish tha:t was
born e:rm {giggling} and Colombian runs through my veins this way {giggling}
Spanish I have it in my arms because: / every time that / e:rm when I write there
are sometimes in Spanish / I write very very very very very quickly / then for
me it is like if I had it in my arms because for me it- I write it very quickly a:nd /
it takes me a very short time / it takes me a very short and I do a- for example if
they give me homework I do it very quickly if it is from Spanish / I a:m- it is
like if it was a bit related to my brain / erm my: / Catalan is for me like: / my
feet because sometimes in Catalan I don't understand many things / a:nd my feet
start to shake / it is like if I was nervous and the- and when I am speaking in
Catalan- I mean / I feel comfortable with all the languages except for Catalan
that when I am speaking I get a bit nervous and I start to move a little bit my feet
because {giggling} I don't know very well what they are telling me then it is
like i:f I mean for me Catalan is like: / it is like when I am nervous and my
stomach hurts

In his first language portrait, he represents English, Catalan, Colombian and Spanish. Carlos' family is from Colombia, and Colombian "runs through his veins" as he says in the final comment (line 7). Carlos uses metaphors for constructing the account of his linguistic repertoire. English is like my head (line 2), Colombian is like my whole body because it is

like if it ran through my veins (lines 4-5), Catalan is like my feet (line 14) and my stomach (line 20), Spanish it is in my arms (lines 10) and my brain, related to my brain (line 13). In his case, the body silhouette prompts an affective reflection related to languages. English and Spanish are conceptualised as subjects at school in which he is very good and fast in answering or doing homework (like connected to his brain or when using his arms to write). He feels smart in those languages: in Spanish he uses his arms to write, when he is in class, and it takes him very little time; and English, he knows a lot. In Catalan, however, he feels uncomfortable ("my feet start to shake") (line 15) and at times it is a painful experience, "it is like when I am nervous and my stomach hurts" (line 20). He is comfortable in all the languages except for Catalan (line 16).

In reality, Carlos can understand and speak Catalan very well, he was born on the Island and it is part of his repertoire, but he does not seem to feel like it and Catalan triggers an uncomfortable experience.

8.3.2.2. "Actually, I hate Catalan"

Carlos seems to have developed feelings of hatred towards the Catalan language and a discourse that describes it as useless compared to world languages such as English. The following extract is a conversation during the making of the language portrait in Year 6.

Extract 8. 8

1	Carlos:	catalán? / catalán dónde lo pongo? / es que en realidad odio el catalán /
2		porque es que a parte de: {name of the Island} / Islas Baleares Barcelona y:
3		otros sitios no te sirve para nada
4	Ahmed:	ya ya
5	Carlos:	porque no es un idioma mundial
6	Ahmed:	i {name of the Catalan variety on the Island}?
7	Carlos:	es lo mismo
8	Ahmed:	no porque hablan como #()# no se entiende

Translation

1	Carlos:	Catalan? / Catalan where do I put it? / because actually I hate Catalan /
2		because except for i:n {name of the Island} / the Balearic Islands and Barcelona
3		a:nd these places it is completely useless
4	Ahmed:	yes yes
5	Carlos:	because it is not a world language

6 Ahmed: and {name of the Catalan variety on the Island}?
7 Carlos: it's the same
8 Ahmed: no because they speak like #()# you cannot understand

Carlos here initiates a discussion that conceptualise local languages as useless in contrast with world languages such as English. The anonymity discourse attached to the language is what gives it its authority here (Woolard 2016). Ahmed, mentions the local variety as a possible language, but it is discarded as being the same as the standard language studied in class (line 7). In the next turn, Ahmed's comment brings to the surface the experience of the standard variety at school (line 8). Standard Catalan is the variety taught in schools on the Islands, which contrasts with the language that is talked outside (see chapter 6 for more on the analysis of this quote and a standard language ideology). This might trigger an uncomfortable experience to newcomers trying to learn the language. In this example there is a clear link between judgements and affect or emotion triggered by such possible experiences. Catalan is usually stylized and mocked by some children of other languages.

The Catalan language is here objectified and affect lands on the language and the subject who speaks the language. The hate expressed towards Catalan (the object of hate) evidences Carlos' positioning. This aligns with observations on hate by Ahmed (2004: 49), who says that "Hate may respond to the particular, but it tends to do so by aligning the particular with the general; 'I hate you because you are this or that', where the 'this' or 'that' evokes a group that the individual comes to stand for or stand in for". Carlos is rejecting here a position as a Catalan speaker with his affective response to Catalan.

Catalan is not a happy object for Carlos, however, this hate is not necessarily the opposite of love or desire, so the move might not necessarily be a move away. But in fact hate hides a feeling of danger: "The presence of this other is imagined as a threat to the object of love" (Ahmed 2004: 43). The object of love being Spanish/Colombian in his case.

Carlos feelings of hate towards Catalan, indeed, also hide desire. In Y5, I interview him with Carla and I ask them what language they would choose to teach to their children.

Extract 8. 9

1 Researcher: tú si tuvieras que elegir un idioma para hablar a tu hijo cuál elegirías
2 Carlos: catalán o inglés / pero más que todo: inglés
3 Researcher: y por qué catalán

4	Carlos:	porque como aquí la gente en {name of the Island} habla mucho catalán pues le hablaría
5		en catalán para que así no tuviera dificultades
6	Researcher:	muy bien y el inglés por qué
7	Carlos:	el inglés porque: erm me gustaría que aprendiera el idioma
8		que a mí me gusta

Translation

1	Researcher:	if you had to choose a language to talk to your child which one would it be
2	Carlos:	Catalan or English / but mainly English
3	Researcher:	and why Catalan
4	Carlos:	because people here on the Island speak a lot of Catalan and
5		so I would speak to him in Catalan so that he won't have difficulties
6	Researcher:	ok and English why
7	Carlos:	English because: erm I would like him to learn a language
8		that I like

This comment further expands on his experience with Catalan. Carlos does not actually reject the language, but does not align with it, as he knows Catalan is needed for integration and for working on the Islands. However, the painful experience triggered by these difficulties related to the language is what causes the discomfort. As Sarah Ahmed (2004) puts it, hate is not the opposite of love, but where there is hate there is an excessive need for the object: "hate is opposed to indifference: in hate, the object makes a difference, but cannot satisfy the subject, whose need goes beyond it" (Ahmed 2004: 51). Hate exists in an ambivalent relationship: "it is an investment in an object (of hate) whereby the object becomes part of the life of the subject even though (or perhaps because) its threat is perceived as coming from outside" (Ahmed 2004: 50).

8.3.2.3. "Then I will know a million languages"

Carlos' desire is also linked to a specific type of multilingualism. While the group continues to make the portrait and Carlos keeps adding languages, he expresses his desire to learn a million of languages.

Extract 8. 10

1	Carlos:	alemán creo que ha sido el idioma más difícil que aprenderé en toda mi vida
2		después de italiano aprenderé francés y cuando acabe francés euskera

3		y si acabo (japonés)
4	Ahmed:	japonés?
5	Carlos:	y así sabré hablar un millón de idiomas
6	Mariana:	qué quieres saber hablar todos los idiomas del mundo o qué
7	Ahmed:	no es que-
8	Carlos:	no pero los de Europa basta
9	Javi:	eh japonés también konichiwa {laughing}
10	Ahmed:	{laughing}
11	Carlos:	bueno japonés también quiero
12	Mariana:	[madre mía] este niño va a ser 'dilingüe' diez lenguas
13	Carlos:	diez lingüe
14	Mariana:	dilingüe
15	Carlos:	mejor así te aceptan en más sitios

Translation

1	Carlos:	German has been the most difficult language that I will learn in all my life
2		after Italian I will learn French and when I finish French Basque and
3		if I finish Japanese
4	Ahmed:	Japanese?
5	Carlos:	and then I will speak a million languages
6	Mariana:	do you want to be able to speak all the languages of the world or what
7	Ahmed:	no but-
8	Carlos:	no but the European ones is enough
9	Javi:	eh Japanese too konichiwa {laughing}
10	Ahmed:	{laughing}
11	Carlos:	well Japanese I want too
12	Mariana:	god this kid will be 'tilingual' ten languages
13	Carlos:	ten lingual
14	Mariana:	Tilingual
15	Carlos:	that's better then I will get accepted in more places

In line 5, Carlos expresses the desire to learn a million of languages and in the next line Mariana asks him whether he wants to know all the languages in the world. Carlos thinks just the European languages are enough (line 8), clearly being aware of the status of languages. The conversation then develops towards employability, when Carlos concludes that the more languages you know the more places they will take you. This is in line with

the resignification of the multilingual self (Flubacher & del Percio 2017) in neoliberalism, in which the self knows what language to invest in for employability as languages are resignified as commodities that can be bought and collected by the speaking subject and that will then allow them to have 'a better future'.

8.3.2.4. "I'm lazy to walk and I prefer to run"

In his last year, Carlos is very aware of what he has to do with the task and what is expected. His metaphors to build his multilingual self are as articulated as they were in year 5, but this time the essence of his multilingualism becomes focused on the utility and efficiency of languages, mostly European languages. This is his portrait in Year 6, when he just turned 12.

Figure 19. Carlos' language portrait 2

Extract 8. 11

Carlos: inglés catalán alemán y español / inglés lo he puesto en el centro como el año pasado creo porque el inglés me gusta mucho y es como si conectara con todas mis articulaciones y me gusta mucho **m'agrada molt** el italiano lo he puesto en las palmas en la:s manos porque: estoy aprendiendo y he pintado: quería pintar menos pero he pintado esto en realidad quería pintar menos porque italiano yo no sé de momento hablar mucho solo sé hablar en "hola cómo estás" y sé decir "madre padre y estas cosas" y poquito alemán ya lo estoy dominando últimamente y lo puesto en todo el brazo sin incluir las manos que son los de italiano y lo he puesto ahí no sé por qué {laughter} pero he pintado un poquito más porque poco poco ya lo voy

dominando creo que es por eso y catalán lo he puesto en las piernas porque: porque a mí no me: no soy mucho de caminar {laughter} me canso bastante rápido pero haciendo deportes y corriendo no me canso pero camino / y el catalán lo he puesto en las piernas he pintado las dos piernas del color de catalán porque pues como me: a veces me da pereza caminar y prefiero ir corriendo / y pues como el catalán a parte de en las islas baleares Barcelona y en estos sitios pues solo te sirve ahí pero yo creo que en otros sitios no té sirve {to Pilar} hola {laughter} {to the recorder} acaba de aparecer Pilar () y: pues no es un idioma mundial pero en cambio el inglés y estos idiomas pues sí que lo son y el español lo he puesto en la cabeza porque lo tengo en la cabeza desde que nací y sé hablar español desde que: desde / toda mi vida

Translation

Carlos: English Catalan German and Spanish / English I draw it in the centre like last year I think because I like it a lot and it is like if it connected all my joints and I like it a lot **I like it a lot** / Italian I put in the hands because I am learning and I have coloured erm I wanted to colour less but I coloured this actually I wanted to colour less because Italian I can't speak a lot for the moment I can only say hello how are you and I know mother father and all these and I little bit of German I am already into it lately and I have put it in all my arm without including the hands that are for Italian and I have it there I don't know why {laughter} but I have coloured a bit more because little by little I know more I think that's why and Catalan I have put it in my legs because erm because I don't I am not into walking {laughter} I get tired very quickly but doing sports and running I don't get tired but I walk / and Catalan I put it in my legs I have coloured both legs of the colour for Catalan because so like I sometimes I am lazy to walk I prefer to run / and so since Catalan apart from in the Balearic Islands Barcelona and in these places so it is only useful there but I think that in other places it is not useful {to Pilar} hello {laughter} {to the recorder} Pilar had just showed up () I: so it is not a world language but on the contrary English and these languages so they are and Spanish I have put it in my head because I have it in my head since I was born and I can speak Spanish since: / all my live

In his final comment, just before they go to high school, his romanticized view of Colombian, conceptualized as his 'roots' (see chapter 6), has changed in favour of neoliberal rationales when he talks about the utility and efficiency of certain languages. It seems that emotional criteria have been replaced by neoliberal rationales that were pushed when he had to choose the optional subjects for high school, in which, he tells me that German was his choice. The status of European languages and world languages such as English (and increasingly,

German on the Islands) helps him build a strategy to combat his anxiety towards Catalan, and confront his hating feelings by choosing other languages that are less threatening because of their anonymity (Woolard 2016). In his own words, his feet are not shaking anymore (that is, when speaking in Catalan), but he prefers to run (that is, using the other languages). No better metaphor to refer to the commodification of language, the efficiency of languages and his choice. He does not choose to invest in Catalan, but to invest in European, higher status languages, which in this metaphor, instead of slowing him down and making him feel uncomfortable will make him go fast(er), for example, in getting a job.

8.4. Conclusion

In these two cases I have considered two affective practices: 'laughter' and 'foot shaking'. I interpret both as signs of discomfort**.**

Lucía feels shame of using her home language at school, while (re)producing discourses of linguistic paranoia (Martín Rojo 2010). In her need to know all the words and in the disapproval of her language mixing she expresses a desire towards a monolingual ideal and draws the picture of a monolingual habitus (Gogolin 1997) which is indeed the cause of her discomfort.

The ideal self that Lucía is projecting for herself is mediated by monolingual ideologies that construct monolingual speakers as the norm. "Such an 'ideal' is what sticks subjects together (coherence); through love, which involves the desire to be 'like' another, as well as to be recognised by another, an ideal self is produced as an approximation of the other's being" (Ahmed 2004: 106). In this sense, the ideal self is someone that belongs, that fits in a community, or in this case, in school. She feels shame because she has "failed to approximate 'an ideal' that has been given to us through the practices of love. What is exposed in shame is the failure of love, as a failure that in turn exposes or shows our love" (Ahmed 2004: 106).

She laughs and is laughed at when using the home language in school grounds, embodying the feeling of doing something bad (strange or funny). In this sense, she experiences shame as the affective cost of not following the scripts of normative existence, that is, she breaks the monolingual norm that is silencing other languages at school. Following Ahmed (2004: 107), I argue that "shame becomes both a domesticating feeling and a feeling of domestication" and reproduces the same norm in that Lucía will think what is the cost of using her home language in school next time she has the occasion. In this analysis of shame embodied in the affective practice of laughter, shame can work to reproduce the nation as an

ideal, which is what is behind monolingual ideologies that considered any difference as a problem.

> The content of the ideal (for example, the nation as *being* white, or heterosexual, or even as being tolerant, caring, and so on) is an effect of the process of idealisation. In other words, it is not that there is an ideal, which some more than others can approximate or 'measure up to'. The national ideal is shaped by taking some bodies as its form and not others. The pride of some subjects is in a way tautological: *they feel pride at approximating an ideal that has already taken their shape.* (Ahmed 2004: 109)

In this ideal promoted by the nation, the ideal is the monolingual speaker of the national language, which is the dominant most powerful language and is experienced as such. In this way, feelings of shame as embarrassment in using ones first language can be caused here by the valorization of and desire for a more powerful L2 that is disempowering to multilinguals (Liyanage & Canagarajah 2019).

Carlos feels anxious in the Catalan class, he does not understand everything and he is embarrassed of speaking the language. This anxiety is expressed as shame in other case studies in a similar context (Woolard 2016). Women in Woolard's (2016) study experienced insults, ridicule and rejection linked to speaking incorrectly. Woolard's (2016: 267) participants talked about the feeling of '*vergüenza',* in Catalan '*vergonya',* which translates into English as both 'shame' and 'embarrassement'.

This seems to be a common feeling of migrants (mostly with Spanish background) in Catalan regions. The anticipation of this laughter usually prevents them to even try to use the language, regardless of their proficiency. Woolard links this kind of shame to linguistic purity and calls it a form of symbolic violence following Bourdieu (1991). In Woolard's (2016) study, the experience of shame changes as these children reach adolescence and adulthood and are then viewed as "immature traits" that inhibit second language learning and they state that they grew more tolerant to mistakes with time and they take up linguistic forms more freely (Woolard 2016: 270-272).

But the truth is that claiming ownership of Catalan is a complex issue in this context and this experience is taken by Carlos developing hating feelings towards Catalan and a discourse that defines the language as useless compared to world languages such as English. In his anxiety he is reinforcing the monolingual habitus (Gogolin 1997) in that, disgust, shame and anxiety "can create a kind of intensity around the practices of habitus, keeping people within familiar routines, discouraging transgressions and reinforcing established patterns and

inequities" (Wetherell 2013a: 234). His experience of shame also hides the desire for an ideal:

> Shame can reintegrate subjects (Braithwaite 1989) in their moment of failure to live up to a social ideal. Such an argument suggests that the failure to live up to an ideal is a way of taking up that ideal and confirming its necessity; despite the negation of shame experiences, my shame confirms my love, and my commitment to such ideals in the first place. (Ahmed 2004: 106)

This experience of "I want, but..." is an essential condition to activate shame (Tomkins 1995: 406). This is perhaps why Carlos expresses both hate and desire at the same time and this ambivalence is present in his anxiety to use the language: "The experience of shame is inevitable for any human being insofar as desire outruns fulfilment sufficiently to attenuate interest without destroying it" (Tomkins 1995: 406).

In sum, I call the attention here to the discomfort captured in the lived experience of language of these children, and refer to it as 'multilingual discomfort', here embodied in Lucía's shame and Carlos' anxiety.

Multilingual discomfort is that experience of shame that is mediated by monolingual ideologies (i.e., the monolingual ideal, the standard language ideology and nativespeakerism). Multilingual discomfort is an example of how monolingual ideologies constitute a structure of feeling that constrains the multilingual self in using and developing their linguistic repertoire as it is, while experiencing the need to approximate to a monolingual ideal constructed through monolingual ideologies that favour standard language ideology, nativespeakerism and monolingualism as desirable outcomes.

9. Conclusion

9.1. Introduction

This section presents and summarizes the main outcomes of the research. The contribution of the study is highlighted here as well as the limitations. The final part deals with the implications for language teaching and points to future research on multilingualism at school.

9.2. Main outcomes

In the introduction of the thesis, I expressed my interest in understanding what was going on with multilingualism in the schools of the Islands. After delving into the literature of multilingualism in globalisation, the focus landed on the lived experience of language of multilingual children at school. Their voices were deemed as the ones that could shed light on the phenomena I was interested in investigating. The conceptualisation of lived experience of language was informed by discussions grounded in the work of Busch (e.g., 2010, 2012, 2017, 2018). My interpretation of this work guided me to conceptualise the lived experience of language at the intersection of discourses, language practices and affect.

Following this conceptualisation, I looked into a) discourses (or ways of talking) about language and multilingualism that children used in the construction of their multilingual self; b) the linguistic habits or the practiced language policy of children at school; and, c) the role of affect in the way children think about and use language(s) and multilingualism.

By answering the three related RQs (see chapter 1), the study highlights the following key findings:

- **A modernist view of language rules the multilingual self**

As regards the way children talk about language and multilingualism, I took an ethnographic lens in the conceptualisation of discourse, which is conceptualised here as ways of talking about a phenomenon (i.e., sets of beliefs and assumptions) that promote a certain view of the world. This view of the world prepares the ground for a certain Ideology. The literature review revealed three main views of language in education that are also found in the children's beliefs and assumptions on language and multilingualism. The rejection of hybridity and ambivalence and the deficit ideology is located in processes that problematize multilingualism and linguistic diversity; beliefs of authenticity and purity encompassed in

the ethnolinguistic assumption and discourses of otherness and belonging characteristic of imagined communities are identified as discourses that romanticize language and multilingualism, and finally, neoliberal assumptions that position language and multilingualism as a resource and a necessary asset to access the labour market and the different status of languages (erasing migrant languages and highlighting English and other prestige languages), are beliefs that are involved in the capitalization of languages. These assumptions draw a modernist view of the world that serves nation-states (and their institutions such as education) in perpetrating the national order. This view of the world promotes an ideology of language as separate that is dominant in our education systems and enacted in schools.

- **A multilingual medium of education that includes the institutional languages is legitimate in school as long as languages are kept separate**

As regards to language practices, I have used the notion of legitimacy to narrow down the review that frames my analysis, that is, I focused on previous studies that deal with what languages and language practices seem to be legitimate or illegitimate in school in various contexts and types of schools. The review reveals the privileged position of monolingual practices. These practices might also include the use of various languages, but only if they are used one at a time. A relatively new orientation to language practices in schools talks about hybridity and translanguaging. The latter is taking space both as a theory of language and as a pedagogic strategy and it is useful to make sense of part of my data and shape the implications of the findings.

In analyzing the linguistic habits or the practiced language policy of a group in school, I am agreeing with the epistemological view that there is a policy within practices and that this policy can grant legitimacy at the level of interaction. The interest here is then in investigating how a practiced language policy is constructed at the level of interaction and how it legitimizes or delegitimizes certain language practices. The practiced language policy is here conceptualized as “a set of interactional norms of language choice” (Bonacina 2020: 435) that speakers orient to in interaction in order to know what (medium) is appropriate in a particular language ecology.

The analysis reveals that children orient to both a monolingual and a multilingual medium in school. A monolingual medium is mainly attributed to L1 teaching, while FL teaching includes an orientation towards a multilingual medium, but mostly a parallel mode or a half-

way between mode is used in these settings. In CLIL, however, some instances of a mixed mode are identified that show a possible space where multilingualism can be legitimized in different modes, more in line with the heteroglossic reality of the students. I call the type of mixed mode multilingual label quest recognised in the CLIL context, translanguaging label quest. I define TL quests as a multilingual display of knowledge of one's linguistic repertoire that involves creativity and criticality in participating in a label quest.

In these translanguaging instances however, only institutional languages are involved, while other languages remain invisible and erased, silencing a part of the group or obstructing the use of the whole linguistic repertoire in the construction of knowledge and, specifically, in building vocabulary knowledge. In the light of the findings, I propose to include translanguaging label quests and other types of multilingual label quests and word quests as a strategy for an inclusive multilingual pedagogy in language teaching and learning (in L1 teaching, EFL or CLIL).

- **Shame 'moves' multilingual children in school, mediating language use and mediated by language ideologies**

Concerning affect and emotions, I review different approaches to affect in affect studies and move the concept to education by reviewing some pedagogic trends related to affect and emotion. In the review, I locate shame and anxiety as often reported affects in the lived experience of language of migrants and learners in general. I conceptualise affect as a visceral force and embodied meaning-making. Affect connects ideas, values and objects and serves to drive us toward movement. Affect is an orientation to something that moves us towards it or away from it and it is manifested in bodily responses, which can be more or less intense. It is these bodily responses that I take as the smaller units of analysis, or what Wetherell (2012) calls affective practices. In the intensity of these responses there are implicit judgements about the world that rule our behaviours and future directions. For the interpretation of these judgements, it is necessary to include emotion and feelings as concepts in the study of affect.

In this study, I was interested in exploring the role of affect in the way children use and think about language and multilingualism in school. I illustrate here two affective practices in the analysis of two cases: 'laughter' and 'foot shaking' and I interpret both as signs of discomfort**.**

Lucía feels shame of using her home language in school, while (re)producing discourses of linguistic paranoia (Martín Rojo 2010). She feels the need to know all the words and expresses disapproval of her language mixing. I argue here that this feelings hide a desire of a monolingual ideal and draws the picture of a monolingual habitus (Gogolin 1997), which is indeed the cause of her discomfort. She laughs and is laughed at when using the home language in school grounds, embodying the feeling of doing something bad (strange or funny). This leads to feelings of shame and embarrassment in using ones' first language that is caused in most cases by the valorization of and desire for a more powerful L2 (Liyanage & Canagarajah 2019).

Carlos is anxious in the Catalan class, because he does not understand everything and he is embarrassed of using the language. He projects a discourse of hate related to Catalan that is perceived as a useless language compared to English and other powerful languages. I argue that in his discomfort he is reinforcing the monolingual habitus, since anxiety can create "a kind of intensity around the practices of habitus, keeping people within familiar routines, discouraging transgressions and reinforcing established patterns and inequities" (Wetherell 2013a: 234).

I call this type of discomfort captured in the lived experience of language of these children, 'multilingual discomfort', here conceptualised as an experience of shame mediated by monolingual ideologies (i.e., the monolingual ideal, the standard language ideology and nativespeakerism) and it serves as an example of how monolingual ideologies constitute a structure of feeling that constrains the multilingual self in using and developing their linguistic repertoire as a whole, while experiencing the need to approximate to a monolingual ideal constructed through monolingual ideologies that favour standard language ideology, nativespeakerism and monolingualism as desirable outcomes. I suggest to include a pedagogy that considers multilingual comfort in order to orient to an inclusive multilingualism in schools.

9.3. Contribution of the study

I locate this investigation within the field of educational linguistics and think of this study as a contribution to studies on multilingualism in education in the intersection of sociolinguistics and applied linguistics for language teaching, more specifically for the teaching and learning of English and/or through the medium of English.

Globally, the study contributes to the body of knowledge, that using ethnographic approaches, aims at understanding the impact of globalisation processes (such as migration flows and the spread of English) in educational settings (e.g., Busch 2014; Smit 2010) and suggests ways forward in the field of English language teaching and learning in contexts of multilingualism (e.g., Huettner & Smit 2018, 2019). Particularly, the study contributes to understanding the multilingual situation in Spain and joins the body of knowledge of other ethnographic studies in schools in the Catalan region (e.g., Woolard 2016; Codó & Patiño-Santos 2014, 2018). Together they shed light on the sociolinguistic reality of the different Catalan contexts, including longitudinal insights (e.g., Woolard 2016).

Epistemologically, the study fills the gap presented in the introduction that was introduced in exploring debates about multilingualism in the present, namely the need to return to and revisit the notion of linguistic repertoire and foreground the subject perspective in studies on multilingualism. This is to my knowledge, the only study with an ethnographic approach that adds the idea of affect, as conceptualised in affect studies, to broaden what discourses and practices can tell us about the lived experience of multilingual children at school.

9.4. Limitations

I acknowledge here that ethnography does not allow for generalizations, however the thick description of the context allows for the transferability of the findings in similar ways that qualitative research does (Lincoln & Guba 1985). Doing ethnography was considered the best approach to get in depth information of the research site and longitudinal and intense fieldwork periods that provide the possibility for gathering great amount of data, otherwise not possible within a different research paradigm. This constant contact with the field and the participants comes with the warning of considering the proximity of the researcher with the participants. The close relationship with the participants, albeit characteristic of ethnography, can be regarded as a limitation because the participants might tell the researcher what she wants to hear and this proximity is sometimes considered in the literature to compromise the data collected. This is however, on the contrary, also an advantage of ethnography, which allows for insights into topics, ideas, observations that a stranger would not get. These limitations are acknowledged and addressed in the section on reflexivity (chapter 3), where I state the researcher's positionality. The section is useful to understand how to read the data and the interpretation of this research.

9.5. Implications and future research

The implications of this study for language teaching particularly address EFL and CLIL in asymmetrical multilingual classrooms and the outcomes outlined below are guidelines for the teaching of English in those classrooms settings, however, other teaching contexts as well as content subjects can benefit from the outcomes of this research, since every class is a language class and must address an inclusive pedagogy. I call the attention here to a pedagogy that addresses 'multilingual empathy'. A multilingual empathy pedagogy will have at its core a special attention to affect and a focus on understanding shame, its consequences as well as its potential. Shame is not necessarily a negative affect, as previously discussed, in fact a pedagogy of discomfort has been called to raise awareness among students of how they feel about certain objects, ideas, values, etc. (Zembylas & Glynn 2012). Feeling discomfort is inevitable, but awareness raising can mitigate its effects and have an influence on how children move or are moved towards objects, for example.

To summarize the implications of this research, I therefore point towards striving for multilingual empathy in inclusive multilingual pedagogy and I suggest three main principles that can enhance its implementation. These principles are the main outcomes of the thesis:

1. Deconstructing modernist views of language with the students: Since the construction of the multilingual self is mediated by a modernist view of languages and multilingualism, an inclusive multilingual pedagogy, should start by working on deconstructing such views. We must consider that "globalization has changed the nature of the game and is putting into question the modernist tenets of our profession" (Kramsch 2014: 297).
2. Promoting the use of multilingual and 'translanguaging label quests' in order to build vocabulary knowledge. The use of such strategies can enhance the participation of all the members in the group, regardless of their proficiency level and considering their whole linguistic repertoire: "It is also necessary to take advantage of the increasingly multilingual composition of language classes and to draw on the students' multilingual competences, even if they are learning a single language" (Kramsch 2012: 1).
3. Working on 'multilingual comfort', without necessarily getting rid of shame, but bringing awareness of it while also working on other affects, like desire, pride, joy, etc. For this purpose, language portraits can be a good starting point (Busch 2018).

To sum up, and addressing particularly EFL and CLIL classroom contexts, language portraits and translanguaging label quests are here suggested as interesting tools to approach the principles stated above. The activity of language portraits, for example can help in creating a safe space where other languages are made visible and in prompting opportunities for metalinguistic talk where thoughts and affects towards languages, language use and the learning of languages are acknowledged, shared and considered normal. Besides, translanguaging label quests, can enhance participation of all the members in a classroom, regardless of their proficiency level while promoting criticality and creativity. In future research, new tools, strategies and principles to enhance multilingual empathy in EFL and CLIL need to be further developed.

9.6. A final note

I want to end this journey with one of the first quotes that I encountered when I became interested in knowing more about multilingualism in education. This citation summarizes the importance of the research conducted here, the why this journey into making language teaching more inclusive and the invitation to look at language teaching from a social justice perspective because

> While teachers are busy teaching them to communicate accurately, fluently, and appropriately, students are inventing for themselves other ways of being in their bodies and their imaginations (Kramsch 2009: 4)

Language teaching in schools should train children more than languages. If multilingualism is used well in schools, it is not 'dangerous' (Blommaert et al. 2012), but "Provided it is utilised well, multilingualism could be a great strengthening mechanism of education in many different ways" (Busch, Jardine & Tjoutuku 2006: 98) and it can create new ways of understanding.

In suggesting a language teaching pedagogy that focuses on multilingual empathy, I am focusing on the human side of learning languages, not on its utilitarian, commodified view. In this final note, I want to emphasize the need for teachers and learners to move away from views of language as objects that can serve to provide a better future, but instead, I claim the need to go back to a view of languages as windows to other worlds. Languages are opportunities to view the world with different eyes, to understand life in different words and realities, to transform oneself by learning to communicate differently, to put oneself in the shoes of others when one tries to communicate in an unfamiliar language, in all, learning languages are a way of re-inventing oneself. In sum, I want to raise the need for a pedagogy

that goes beyond the need of learning languages for employability and go back to the pleasure that learning languages can awake. That is, a move from a focus on the teaching languages as if they were a passport for employability, to a personal development journey that opens eyes and souls.

To end, I draw on Kramsch (2014) to argue that multilingual empathy can be ultimately a lesson of globalization that encourages FL educators not to lose sight of the whole even when teaching testable structures and following a course syllabi.

> Keeping an eye on the whole means catching the essence of a word, an utterance, a gesture, a silence as they occur inside and outside the classroom, and seeing them as a manifestation of a speaker's or a writer's voice, informed by an awareness of the global communicative situation, rather than just by the correct way of constructing sentences, paragraphs, and texts. For FL educators, such an awareness is developed through careful attention to their students' experiences and memories, but also through reflection on their experience informed by a multidisciplinary professional training. (Kramsch 2014: 309)

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Appendices

Appendix 1. Participant information sheet

Participant Information Sheet (parents)

Study Title: EXPLORING CLIL PRACTICES

Researcher: Sonia Perelló Bover

Please read this information carefully before deciding to take part in this research. If you are happy to participate you will be asked to sign a consent form.

Information about the researcher:
My name is Sonia Perelló Bover. I am a PhD student in the University [redacted]. I am conducting a research project about language interactions in the English and CLIL lessons with the aim to learn about how to improve the teaching and learning process and complete my training as a teacher. I would appreciate your participation in the project, which is explained in the sections below.

What is the research about?
This research is part of a PhD project in Applied linguistics in the University of Southampton.
The project aims to observe how teachers and students interact with each other in the subjects they are taught through the medium of English (CLIL) and the English language classroom in a specific context, in order to describe good teaching practices and explore linguistic diversity.

Why have I been chosen?
You have been chosen to participate in the project because your child is part of a multilingual state school where some subjects are taught through the medium of English and English language lessons coexist in a Spanish context.

How can I take part in the project?
You have to sign the consent form attached to this information sheet and complete the questionnaire.

What does the research involve?
If you agree in participating in the project you are agreeing to use the audio-recorded data gathered during some CLIL and English language lessons in which your child takes part. The data will be used for academic/research purposes only. Data gathered will remain confidential and anonymous at all times (names will not be used, and if necessary they will be replaced by pseudonyms).

Are there any risks involved?
There are no risks involved in this project, besides the ones that may occur in everyday life.

What happens if I change my mind?
If you change your mind about taking part in this research project at any time during the process, you can choose not to participate and ask me to delete your complete data.

What happens if something goes wrong?
In the unlikely case of concern or complaint you can contact the Chair of the Faculty Ethics Committee [redacted] or Dr. Julia Huettner: (J.Huettner@soton.ac.uk), supervisor of the project.

Where can I get more information?
If you would like to get further information, please do not hesitate to contact me at any time. Email address: sp7q13@soton.ac.uk or sonia.perello@gmail.com

Appendix 2. Consent form

CONSENT FORM *(Version 1)*

Study title: EXPLORING CLIL PRACTICES

Researcher name: Sonia Perelló Bover
Staff/Student number: 26576848
ERGO reference number:

Please initial the box(es) if you agree with the statement(s):

I have read and understood the information sheet (insert date /version no. of participant information sheet) and have had the opportunity to ask questions about the study.	☐
I agree to take part in this research project and agree for my data to be used for the purpose of this study	☐
I understand my participation is voluntary and I may withdraw at any time without my legal rights being affected	☐

Data Protection
I understand that information collected about me during my participation in this study will be stored on a password protected computer and that this information will only be used for the purpose of this study. All files containing any personal data will be made anonymous.

Name of participant (print name).....

Signature of participant.....

Date.....

Appendix 3. Transcription conventions

Sx	Unidentified student
SS	More than one student at the same time
/	Pause of less than one second but yet significant (short pause - 0.5 seconds)
(x)	x seconds pause – e.g., (2)
()	Speech inaudible
(text)	Speech hard to discern, analyst's guess
{text}	Background comments (researcher comments)
(=text)	Translation
[text]	Overlap: speech happening at the same time
=	Latches (when the utterance on one line continues without a pause where next = picks it up) – absence of discernible gap between two parts of a same utterance, after overlapping
CAPS	Emphasis, shouting or louder than the surrounding talk
°text°	Utterance softer/much softer than the surrounding talk
"text"	Translating, reading or voicing someone else's words, titles of songs, singing (song lyrics)
#text#	Stylisation: "speakers shift into varieties or exaggerated styles that are seen as lying beyond their normal range, beyond what participants ordinarily expect of them, and this disjunction of speaker and voice draws attention to the speaker herself/himself, temporarily positioning the recipient(s) as spectator(s), and at least momentarily reframing the talk as non-routine – a joke, for example, or some kind of artful performance" (Rampton and Charalambous, 2012: 484)
##	Stylising using sounds but not distinguishing words
:	Stretched sound
?	Rising intonation
-	Self-interruption
+++	Words or sentences presumably from another language that I do not know
Round text	Spanish
Bold text	Catalan
Text in italics	English
Coloured text	Other languages

Appendix 4. Background questionnaire

[redacted]

1. Curs: 5è
2. Edat: 11
3. Lloc de naixement: Espanya
4. **Si no vas néixer a Menorca:**
   a. **Quants anys tenies quan vas venir a viure a Menorca?**
   b. **A on vivies abans de venir aquí?**
   c. **Quines llengües parlaves abans d'arribar aquí?**
   d. **Quines vas haver d'aprendre? Et va costar?**
5. A on van néixer els teus pares?
   a. Pare: Marroc
   b. Mare: Marroc
6. Quines llengües parlen els teus pares?
   a. Pare: Àrab, castellà, català, francès
   b. Mare: Àrab, castellà, català, francès
7. Quines llengües parles tu? català, castellà, anglès
8. T'agradaria aprendre alguna altra llengua? Quina? Sí Alemany
9. T'agrada l'anglès? Sí
10. Escriu el que penses de l'anglès.

Em sembla bé perque amb el inglés et pots comunicar amb gent de un altre país perque el anglés es pot parlar en tot el mon

Appendix 5. Language portrait example

Appendix 6. Interview guide

Interview – Round 1

1. Explain your portrait
2. How do you speak at home/school?
3. Would you like to learn another language?
4. What language would you speak to your children?
5. What is your favourite book?
6. What do you think about English?
7. Interview prompts – what do you think of the following language portraits

Portrait 1	Portrait 2	Portrait 3	Portrait 4	Portrait 5

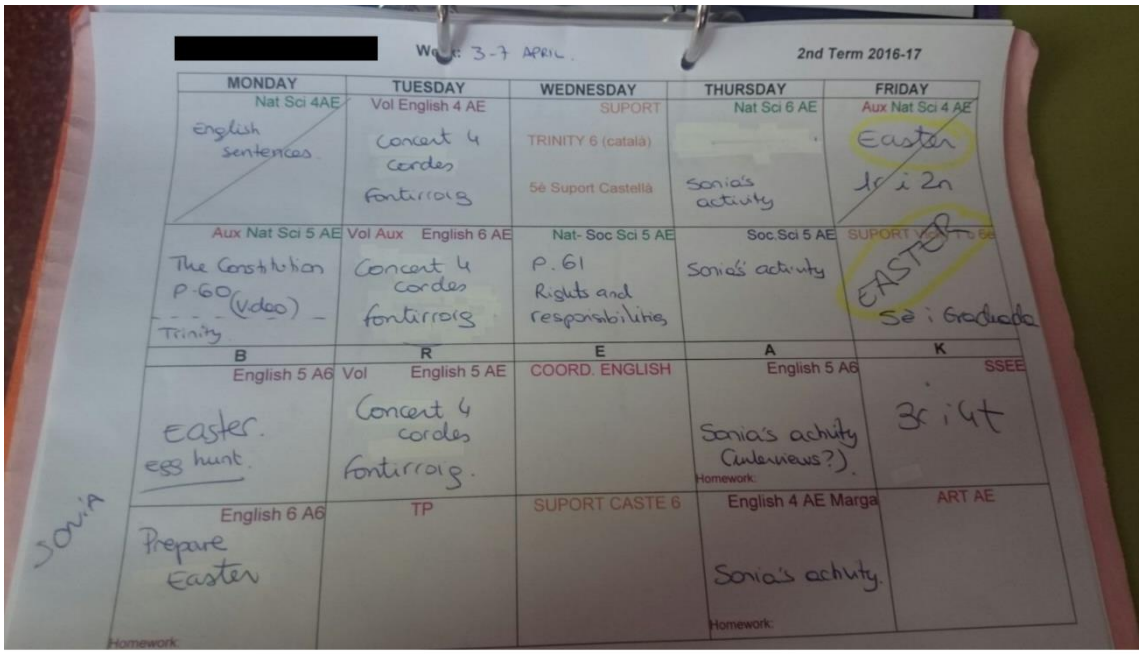
Interview Round 2

1. Explain your portrait
2. Compare your portrait 1 and 2:
    a. can you notice any difference?
    b. what do you think about the difference?

Appendix 7. Interview example (transcript portrait 5)

1	**Sonia**:	cómo habla esta persona	how does this person speak
2	**Carla**:	habla el idioma original pero habla un poqui-	she speaks the original language but a little bit- how
3		habla como se dice que es que o sea habla	do you say I mean s/he speaks normal but maybe it is a
4		normal pero puede ser que sea un idioma que no	language that s/he doesn't know very well that is hers-
5		conoce muy bien sea el su- y tenga otro pero	and she has another one but this is the one that she
6		este es el que más habla y de repente a veces se	speaks more and suddenly sometimes a word slips
7		le cuela como una palabra {giggling}	through like {giggling}
8	**Sonia**:	se le cuela como-	it slips through like-
9	**Carla**:	y por eso el verde raya verde raya ve:rde raya	that is why green stripe green stripe green stripe
10	**Sonia**:	muy bien esto y conoces a alguien así	ok and do you know someone like this
11	**Carla**:	erm no	erm no
12	**Carlos**:	no	no
13	**Carla**:	bueno Mila a veces un poco	well Mila sometimes a bit
14	**Carlos**:	ya / o Ana	right / or Ana
15	**Carla**:	(ya)	(ya)
16	**Carlos**:	que si está hablando en catalán y [y empieza a	that if she is speaking in Catalan and [and she starts to
17		hablar en castellano]	speak Spanish]
18	**Carla**:	[ah ya sé ya sé] hay una en el hormiguero que	[ah I know I know] there is one person in "el
19		es japonesa o china una chica que a veces va y	hormiguero" that is Japanese or Chinese a girl that
20		entonces a veces está hablando castellano y se	sometimes goes and then sometimes she is speaking
21		le empiezan y empiezan- de repente a hablar	Spanish and she starts and starts- she starts suddenly to
22		japonés o chino y entonces nos quedamos como	speak Japanese or Chinese and then I am like what
23		what {laughing} qué dice	{laughing} what is she saying

Appendix 8. Observation timetable example



[redacted] W[illegible] 3-7 APRIL. 2nd Term 2016-17

	MONDAY	TUESDAY	WEDNESDAY	THURSDAY	FRIDAY
	Nat Sci 4AE English sentences	Vol English 4 AE Concert 4 cordes Fontirrois	SUPORT TRINITY 6 (català) 5è Suport Castellà	Nat Sci 6 AE Sonia's activity	Aux Nat Sci 4 AE Easter 1r i 2n
	Aux Nat Sci 5 AE The Constitution P-60 (Video) Trinity	Vol Aux English 6 AE Concert 4 cordes fontirrois	Nat- Soc Sci 5 AE P. 61 Rights and responsibilities	Soc.Sci 5 AE Sonia's activity	SUPORT [illegible] 6è EASTER 5è i Graduats
	B	R	E	A	K
	English 5 A6 Easter. egg hunt.	Vol English 5 AE Concert 4 cordes Fontirrois.	COORD. ENGLISH	English 5 A6 Sonia's activity (interviews?). Homework:	SSEE 3r i 4t
SONIA	English 6 A6 Prepare Easter Homework:	TP	SUPORT CASTE 6	English 4 AE Marga Sonia's activity. Homework:	ART AE

Appendix 9. Observation transcription example

10-CLILscience-Y4-G2-TJ-04.04.16

{The teacher tells them to close their books and notebooks and relax. Some take the chance to play with the recorders.}

Extract. The water cycle {34:10}

Pilar: *ok this video / shhh / this video is about the water cycle / do you know what the water cycle is // what is the water cycle*

Carlos: el ciclo del agua

Pilar: el ciclo del agua *and what does it mean / what's* el ciclo del *water*

Sx: *ºfresh water y salt waterº*

Sx: {laughing}

Pilar: *no no no {laughing} the water cycle what does it mean {laughing}* que es el ciclo del agua Carlos *what is it / no? Santi what is the water cycle // no? / no idea*

Sx: Carla ()

Pilar: *Carla knows what the water cycle is Lucía do you know what the water cycle is*

Lucía: e:rm / e:l / ah erm el círculo del agua

Pilar: y qué es

Lucía: es mhm por do- {laughing} por donde va el agua para: mhm mhm / me he quedado en blanco

Ss: {laughing in a low voice}

Pilar: venga para qué shh **no mireu no miris que és** / el ciclo del agua donde va el agua para:

Carlos: *[the condensation the-]*

Sx: [ducharse]

Pilar: para ducharse? mhm not really

Carlos: *the precipitation*

Pilar: Carla

Carla: erm puedo decirlo en castellano

Pilar: *yes up to you*

Carla: vale erm el ciclo del agua es son los procesos que hace que sigue todo el tiempo nunca se para y y siempre es lo mismo / se derrite se se e:rm / se condensa se congela y sss- / y así todo el tiempo

Pilar: *ok something about that*

Carlos: y se precipita {laughing}

Pilar: *let's watch a video ok* **ara miram es video i sortim de dubtes**

Carlos: por qué está torcida la pantalla

{VIDEO PLAYING: in English}

Appendix 10. Final coding analysis RQ1

- Problematizing language: ‘Change’
    - The rejection of hybridity and ambivalence:
        - “I speak like this”
    - The deficit ideology:
        - “You think you are Suárez and you cannot even speak Spanish”
- Romanticizing language: ‘Roots’
    - Authenticity and purity:
        - “your mother is Filipina, and you don’t speak it?”
    - Otherness and belonging: “we are all immigrants”
- Capitalizing language: ‘Efficiency’
    - The commodification of language:
        - “I’d speak to him in Catalan, to spare him the trouble”
    - The characterization of English as efficient:
        - “you can speak it in the whole world”

Appendix 11. Final coding analysis RQ2

‘One day in my school life’: uncovering the medium of classroom interaction

A. Orienting towards a monolingual medium: L1(s) teaching

- Monolingual talk
- Parallel monolingualism

B. Orienting towards a multilingual norm in the foreign language class and CLIL

- Legitimizing the use of other languages in EFL and CLIL
- Multilingual label quests

Appendix 12. Case summary example: analysis RQ3

STAGE 1: summary of case

"Lucía is 10 when I arrive at the school, my initial fieldnotes are full of notes about her. She is constantly trying to capture attention, when the teacher is asking questions she raising her hand to answer any question, even when she does not know the answer. Her answers are long, and often do not answer the question, but she is very enthusiastic and wants to participate. When it is time to do some exercise individually, she always has to go to the toilet or sharpen her pencil or stands up with any excuse to ask the teacher. In my notes I also note down several instances of translanguaging, since that was my initial interest, she uses all the languages that she can (only school languages) and tries to do it following the norms: English in the English and CLIL class, Catalan with teachers and anything school related (exercises, exams, etc.), but Spanish is her default with her peers and her most used school language. Soon I decided to make her a key participant, not only because she was translanguaging, but also because she was talking a lot and that gave me a lot of information about her that I found difficult to access with other children, that on the contrary, never ever opened their mouths. She wanted to tell me her story, and so I listened."

- Lucía normally addresses to me in Catalan and when she does I normally follow in Catalan, if she switches to Spanish I normally do as well. She speaks a lot during the interview, she comes together with Fatima both times (in the first year and in the second year), however, they do not sit in the same group, so they did not interact during the making of the task. The fact that they did not co-construct the activity in the same group generates different results, for example, Lucía has used flags to represent languages (as if they were an object owned by a country), and so did another member of the same group. She interacts quite a lot with her group while doing the language portraits, but is very focussed doing the task and asking and looking for the flag colours of the countries she thinks represent the languages she thinks are legitimate to appear in her portrait.

- The second time of the language portraits, the children have grown up a lot and developed typical teenage changes, they seem more secure and with a more identifiable personality. Lucía has also changed, and I notice that from the beginning. She speaks more Spanish than before, although she still switches to Catalan sometimes, it seems less consistently linked to the 'norm'. She does also translanguage less, or I have this impression, although it can be due to the fact that she speaks more Spanish (she was translanguaging while speaking Catalan). But these last two points are just initial annotations, if this becomes part of the essence of the phenomenon, it should be submitted to discourse analysis (CA-like).
- In general, from her text, it is salient the use of flags (only two informants using flags in the first round and her whole group in the second round). However, I am not sure this means anything especial, a part from the fact iconization of countries and flags and languages and the obvious territorialization and objectification of languages.

- Also salient, is the portrait of home languages as distinct from school languages and thus conceptualised in different ways, in terms of utility, affect, etc. But perhaps not surprising. In general she does not contest the norms of language use in class, or have any negative feeling towards any language, but on the contrary, she is always very enthusiastic and manifests a predisposition to learn. Her complicated family history

is glimpsed in the language portraits (with Turkish) and linked to languages and intertwined with her migration story (with Romanian) and the duty of learning Spanish, Catalan and English when she arrived.

- As regards to change, I can capture change by analysing the position of Catalan and English and how it changes in her narratives (it seems recurrent in other cases too). Besides, it still seems that there is a change in importance of the home language, although a move towards correctness and separateness in both home and school language(s).
- Her account immediately contrasts with the first case I analysed, Roberto, who was struggling and resisting to follow the norms, even rejecting them, and also a totally different experience in terms of feelings and emotions.
- Some themes that initially seem of relevance to explore are: norms, translanguaging, migration and integration.

STAGE 2: Coding

1. Flags- territorializing languages
2. Romanian is my language because I was born in Romania
3. My central centre
4. A bit of everything
5. I needed to learn Spanish to be in school
6. I had to learn Catalan to speak with Claudia
7. I had to learn English to speak with Pilar
8. I speak Romanian with my mom and my grandma
9. I mix because I get confused
10. I don't remember the word in Romanian
11. I don't like mixing
12. I should know all the words
13. Catalan is one of my favourite languages
14. My mom doesn't like Catalan, but she likes it when I speak it
15. English will help you a lot
16. I love English (heart)
17. English is beautiful and useful
18. "No vull que pensin malament"
19. First your main languages
20. You didn't get anything I said
21. School will do the rest
22. English at home as a 'joke'
23. Strange words – difficult CLIL exams
24. I got used to being with you
25. Picioare

STAGE 3: Salient affective practice

- **Laughter:** picioare (code 25)